



*Isaiah Child
Argyle*

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED JAN. 9, 1833.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of this Society was held at Boylston Hall, in Boston, on Wednesday evening, January ninth. A numerous audience was assembled.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the **REV. TYLER THACHER.**

MR. BUFFUM, President of the Society, made a few remarks, in which he stated the plans and objects of the Society.

Delegates from auxiliary societies having been requested to present their credentials, **MR. DAVID T. KIMBALL**, of the Andover Theological Seminary, produced a certificate of his being a delegate from the Andover Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, which was read by the President.

MR. GARRISON, the Corresponding Secretary, then read the Annual Report of the Managers. This paper explained at some length the objects of the Society, and vindicated its principles from the unjust reproaches which have been often heaped upon them. It strenuously supported immediate abolition, by showing the true nature of the measure, and its safety and necessity. After exposing the principles of the Colonization Society, and advertng to some other topics, the Report set forth the measures which the Society had adopted, and the gratifying success which had so far attended its exertions.

MR. ROBERT B. HALL then moved the acceptance of the Report, and supported his motion in a short address, in which he congratulated the Society upon the encouraging prospects before them.

The motion was seconded by **MR. OLIVER JOHNSON**, and passed.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq. then proposed the following resolution :

Resolved, That slavery and the traffic in slaves in the District of Columbia, ought to be abolished by the government of the United States : and that every citizen of every State in which slavery is not tolerated, is bound to use the same exertions to put an end to it in that District, which he would be if it existed in his own State.

Mr. Sewall spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He adverted to the history of the District of Columbia, the cession of its two parts to the United States by Maryland and Virginia, for a seat of government, by means of which it became subject to the exclusive legislation of Congress. He alluded to the wretched system of slave laws which prevailed in the District, showed how negligent Congress had been of the rights of slaves and other persons of color there ; and stated that this District had become one of the greatest slave markets in the country—that slaves were brought into it from the neighboring States, chained in droves, then confined in the public or private jails, and finally shipped to the Southern ports. He pointed out some of the cruel injuries to which free people of color were subjected, by being kidnapped and sold for slaves, in consequence of the toleration of the slave trade in the District ; and concluded by exhorting the audience to exert themselves to put an end to the atrocious system, tolerated by the American nation at the seat of its government.

The Rev. E. M. P. WELLS seconded the motion, and supported it by appropriate remarks. He mentioned the general ignorance which prevailed in this community of the state of things which existed in the District of Columbia. Many people, he said, among us were not aware that slavery and the slave trade were thus directly countenanced and supported by the American government and people. He afterwards spoke of the criminality of slavery, and laid down the following propositions :—
1. Slavery is inconsistent with christianity.—2. It is inconsistent with humanity.—3. It is inconsistent with the principles of a republican government : each of which propositions he sustained by arguments.

DAVID L. CHILD, Esq. next addressed the meeting, in support of the resolution. He bore testimony to the truth of the

statements of the mover of the resolution. He then pointed out how completely the slave in this country is unprotected by law from injury and oppression. He related some atrocious acts in illustration of his position.

The resolution was then passed unanimously.

W. J. SNELLING, Esq. then spoke for a few minutes, and related an anecdote which illustrated very strikingly the remark of the last speaker, that slaves in this country were not in any degree protected by the law.

After a collection had been taken for the benefit of the funds of the Society, the meeting adjourned, to meet again on Wednesday evening, Jan. 16th.

JANUARY 16. The Society met, pursuant to the adjournment. The spacious hall was crowded with a highly respectable assemblage, among which were a large number of members of the Legislature, from various parts of the Commonwealth. The meeting was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Tyler Thacher. Extracts of Letters from Rev. Samuel J. May, of Brooklyn, Conn., Gen. Samuel Fessenden, of Portland, Me., Arthur Tappan, Esq. of New-York, and Mr. Theodore D. Weld, of Hartford, Conn., were then read, commending the principles and objects of the Society.

DAVID L. CHILD, Esq. then proposed the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Free People of Color and Slaves in this land of Liberty and Law, have less liberty, and are less protected by law, than in any other part of the world.

Mr. Child spoke at some length in support of this resolution. He showed how much more favorable the Civil Law was to slaves than the laws of the Southern States ; and stated that in the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, the slave codes being based on the Civil Law, the slaves were far more protected in their rights than they are in our Slave States or the British West Indies. He then pointed out the improvements which had been made in the slave laws of the British Islands, especially in the Crown Colonies within a few years, which rendered

the legal condition of the slaves in the British Colonies far superior to what it is in the Slave States. Mr. Child introduced a great variety of topics into his speech, and enforced his arguments by numerous illustrations.

The resolution passed without opposition.

The Rev. Mr. RUSSELL, of Watertown, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the plan of colonizing the blacks in Africa, as explained by its friends, is preposterous in the extreme, and every attempt to put its principles into operation is an unrighteous persecution, levelled against the free people of color, to secure and perpetuate slavery in our country ; and, therefore, calls upon us to counteract its operations by an open, free, and fearless exposition of its policy and effects.

Mr. Russell spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He demonstrated that the efforts of the Colonization Society could never diminish slavery ; that while the Society had removed less than 3000 persons from the country, the slaves here had increased more than 500,000 ; and showed that the true effect of the Society was to perpetuate slavery, by removing from the country a portion of the free colored people who it was supposed might sympathize with the slaves, and might assist them in recovering freedom.

The resolution was adopted.

AMASA WALKER, Esq. proposed the following resolution :

Resolved, That the objects contemplated by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society are in strict accordance with the plainest dictates of Religion, Philanthropy, and Patriotism.

Mr. Walker then addressed the meeting. He adverted to the unfavorable circumstances under which the Society had commenced its operations. Public sentiment was against it. Yet this, he said, did not prove that its principles or objects were wrong, for public sentiment is sometimes mistaken. He examined the principles of the Society, and showed that they were consistent with religion, philanthropy, and patriotism. He compared these principles with those of the Colonization Society, and demonstrated the criminality of the latter. The one Society wishes to banish the people of color, the other seeks to improve them here ; the one declares that slaves are rightful property, the other that they are *men*, and have all the rights of men. He

concluded nearly as follows. Every circumstance but one, is in favor of the Colonization Society, and against the Anti-Slavery Society. The former is supported by a formidable array of great names, of judges, governors, members of Congress, and of course flourishes in wealth under the smiles of public opinion. The latter has nothing to support it, but truth and justice. Yet these are worth all the rest, and must ultimately crown the labors of the Society with glorious success.

The resolution was adopted.

The Rev. MOSES THACHER offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the principles of expatriation, pursued by the supporters of the American Colonization Society, exert an influence in opposition to the highest interests of the Colored People in this country.

The resolution was adopted, after having been sustained by the mover in a brief but highly animated and cogent speech.

The following resolution was submitted by Mr. GARRISON, without any remarks, in consequence of the lateness of the hour :

Resolved, That the exertions made by the free people of color in this country to improve their condition, and to confer the benefits of education upon their children—notwithstanding the obstacles which they have to encounter from the laws and the prejudices of a large part of the community—are highly meritorious ; that these exertions have already produced highly beneficial results, and will, in our opinion, if persevered in, produce others still more desirable.

Adopted.

The following communication from the Massachusetts General Colored Association was presented by Mr. JOSHUA EASTON, read, and accepted :

POSTON, January 15, 1833.

To the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

The Massachusetts General Colored Association, cordially approving the objects and principles of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, would respectfully communicate their desire to become auxiliary thereto. They have accordingly chosen one of their members to attend the Annual Meeting of the Society as their delegate, (Mr. Joshua Easton of North Bridgewater,) and solicit his acceptance in that capacity.

THOMAS DALTON, *President*.

WILLIAM G. NELL, *Vice President*.

JAMES G. BARBADOES, *Secretary*.

The meeting adjourned to Monday evening, Jan. 21st.

Monday Evening, Jan. 21, 1833. The Society met, pursuant to adjournment, at Jefferson Hall, the President, Mr. BURNUM, in the chair.

The Secretary being absent, Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON was chosen Secretary, pro tem.

The Committee appointed to revise the Constitution made their report, which, after some debate, was adopted.

The Society proceeded to ballot for officers for the ensuing year, and the following gentlemen were elected.

PRESIDENT.
JOHN KENRICK, Newton.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.
ARNOLD BUFFUM, Boston.
REV. MOSES THACHER, North Wrentham, Mass.
REV. SIMON S. JOUELYN, New-Haven, Ct.
REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, Brooklyn, Ct.
REV. E. M. P. WELLS, Boston.
EBENEZER DOLIN, Hallowell, Me.

Corresponding Secretary.—SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Boston.

Recording Secretary.—OLIVER JOHNSON, Boston.

Treasurer.—JAMES C. ODIORNE, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.
REV. JAMES D. YATES, BENJAMIN C. BACON.
DAVID L. CHILDS, ELIAS G. LORING,
MICHAEL H. SIMPSON, ARNER FORBES,
ISAAC H. APPLETON, M.D., FREDERICK HUGHES,
REV. SAMUEL S. JOHNSON, ISAAC KNAPP.

On motion of Mr. B. C. BACON, it was

Resolved, That this Society contemplates the benighted condition of Africa with feelings of christian sympathy; and although it is forced to protest against the measures and principles of the American Colonization Society, yet it approves every laudable effort to confer upon that quarter of the world the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

On motion of Mr. BUTTUM, it was

Resolved, That we contemplate, with the highest satisfaction, the untiring christian zeal and a fidelity of the friends of immediate and universal emancipation in England, and that we will co-operate with them for the promotion of the great cause in which they are engaged, while God shall bless us with the ability to do so, or until every yoke of bondage and of oppression shall be broken.

On motion of Mr. GARRISON, it was

Resolved, That the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Society is essential to the complete regeneration of public sentiment on the subject of slavery, and to the speedy overthrow of that iniquitous system; and that the Board of Managers be authorized to call a national meeting of the friends of abolition, for the purpose of organizing such a Society, at such time and place as they shall deem expedient.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the President and Secretaries for their services during the last year.

Adjourned *sine die*.

REPORT.

THE Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, in presenting to the public their First Annual Report, deem it proper to make a full developement of the motives which led to the formation of the Society—the principles which govern its actions—and the purposes which it aims to accomplish. It is right that the people of this country, and especially of New-England, to whose countenance and patronage the Society more directly appeals—should understand, fairly and plainly, these motives, and principles, and purposes. Self-defence against the misrepresentations and assaults of ignorance, prejudice, and malice—the success of the cause of truth and justice—imperiously require such an exposition at their hands.

The Managers, while they feel cheered in view of what has been accomplished during the past year, cannot withhold the expression of their regret that there is, in this wide community, such a general aversion to a close, candid and zealous investigation of a subject, which involves the temporal and everlasting welfare of millions of the human family, and the permanency of the institutions of this country. The ignorance which prevails among all classes respecting the nature, extent and withering tendency of slavery, as it exists in the southern states, is as surprising as it is deplorable. Many persons, of good information on other subjects, cannot even guess the number of the slave population ; others are hardly able to designate between the free and slave states ; others seem not aware of the fact, that, in various portions of territory, slavery is maintained by the peo-

ple and government of the United States ; others know so little of the physical sufferings and spiritual deprivations of the slaves, as to receive with incredulity, if not positive unbelief, the most well-authenticated facts ; others possess merely a general statistical knowledge, but have never traced the pernicious effects of slavery upon the prosperity and happiness of slave states, or imagined that it is, and must inevitably be, the source of national division.

Hence, to this general ignorance may be attributed the success of the colonization scheme, which, having been received upon trust, is still viewed by many benevolent individuals as providing a remedy for slavery. Hence, too, the facility with which false and wicked accusations against the cause of abolition, and its advocates, have been circulated throughout the country ; and hence the necessity of the present defence.

The motives which actuated the founders of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society were not those of hostility to the interests or persons of slave-owners. From the statements and complaints of the planters themselves—from the visible curse which rested upon the slave-tilled soil—from the natural unproductiveness of slave labor, the slaves being robbed of all motives for long-continued, well-directed exertions—from the debasing and barbarous tendency of the system—from the fears of insurrection, which always harass the repose and embitter the cup of oppressors—from the solemn lessons which all history teaches, that tyranny cannot always be exercised with impunity—and from the many revolts, which, since the introduction of slaves into this country, had taken place, growing more and more formidable, and ending with terrible massacre at Southampton, in Virginia—they were convinced that the abolition of slavery was the only mode of preserving the lives and increasing the wealth of their southern fellow-citizens. They saw that custom and education, as well as a mistaken policy, had blinded the eyes of the planters to their best interests ; and while they felt and expressed, as christians and philanthropists, the strongest moral indignation, in view of the conduct of the transgressors, they likewise cherished the utmost benevolence of feeling towards them. To deduct aught from the sum of their happiness, in

order to increase that of their victims—or to depress them in proportion to the elevation of the slaves—was not the design of the founders of the Anti-Slavery Society. It was because their good-will and philanthropy were as broad as the earth, embracing all men as members of one family, and estimating the happiness and worth of all by the same standard, that they were impelled, in defiance of persecution and reproach, to put forth every exertion for the overthrow of slavery.

Nor were their motives those of a sectional character. They associated together to maintain, not to destroy the Union, by endeavoring to remove the cause of division. They believed, inasmuch as it is impracticable satisfactorily to legislate for a portion of the people as men, and another portion as cattle, that there could be no end to collisions, until the root of bitterness was taken away ; and that nearly all the troubles and excitements in the land sprang from slavery. There were no difficulties or heart-burnings between the free States : they did not threaten each other, or talk of a separation one from another. The longer slavery was tolerated, the more probable, in their conviction, was a dismemberment of the Union. To seek its utter annihilation, then, became them as wise men, as patriots, as christians, as lovers of their country. They were not so thoughtless, or vain, as to suppose that the formation of an anti-slavery society, such as they contemplated, would excite no opposition ; or that they could go into a free discussion of the question of slavery, without subjecting themselves to great reproach as disorganizers, madmen, and fanatics. All the angry ebullitions which their exertions have elicited, both at the north and the south, they were prepared to meet. They had no alternative but to act the part of the Levite, and steel their hearts and close their ears to the cries of two millions of their fellow-creatures, or, like the good Samaritan, to compassionate the bleeding victims, and seek their deliverance. However high the tempest of passion might rise, on the avowal of their sentiments and designs, they were consoled to believe that it would serve to purify a foul atmosphere which was generating moral death. However unkindly their expostulations, warnings, rebukes and efforts might at first be received by the possessors of

slaves, they could not doubt their efficacy to produce, ultimately, a radical reform. However cruelly the slaves might be treated by the excited masters, in consequence of their benevolent interposition, they knew that that aggravated cruelty would only serve to make slavery more odious in the sight of the people, and hasten its downfall. The expostulation of Moses with Pharaoh only hardened the heart of the tyrant, and induced him to increase the burdens of the Israelites ; for he ‘ commanded *the same day*, the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying, Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick as heretofore : let them go and gather straw for themselves.’* Such a result was peculiarly distressing to Moses : even his afflicted brethren upbraided him sharply for his interference. ‘ And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh : and they said unto them, The Lord look upon you and judge ; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us.’† History is full of instruction on this point : there is scarcely an instance on record where the exertions of reformers to break the fetters of tyranny were not immediately succeeded by new and grievous disabilities, imposed by the angry oppressor upon their vassals. The guilty Jews were cut to the heart by the faithful preaching of Stephen : ‘ they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him.’‡ All such outrages, however, promote the cause of truth, and defeat the object for which they were perpetrated.

Let abolitionists derive consolation and hope from these reflections. Let them meekly bear the taunts and reproaches of half-way reformers and temporising gradualists, who accuse them of provoking slaveholders to treat their slaves more rigorously than ever. The sin lies not at their doors. Upon the perpetrators of these fresh grievances must punishment be executed by Heaven. Abolitionists deeply regret to perceive no disposition, on the part of the slaveholding States, to cease from their oppression. Within the last two years, the Legislatures

* Exodus v. 6, 7.

† Idem, v. 20, 21.

‡ Acts vii. 57, 58.

of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama and Tennessee, have passed laws respecting the free colored and slave population of those States, which are in the highest degree atrocious.* The spirit of persecution is abroad, with unexampled malignity; but its violence will prove its destruction.

The New-England Anti-Slavery Society tolerates no compromise of principle. Its demands upon the holders of slaves are as imperative as those of the book inspiration—‘to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.’ To all the palliatives and excuses which they and their apologists present for their oppressive conduct, it replies in the language of Jehovah—‘Thou shalt not steal’—‘Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor’s’—‘Behold the hire of the laborers, which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.’ It regards with dismay and horror the doctrine which is becoming popular in this land, especially in regard to slavery, that ‘the end sanctifies the means’—that expediency is duty, but duty is not expediency—that the guilt of oppression belongs to past generations, and repentance to posterity—that the circumstances of the times, the laws of the States, the preservation of life and property, justify robbery and oppression, and a violation of all the commandments—and that immediate and universal obedience to the requirements of the gospel, on the part of the transgressors, will produce worse results than continuance in sin, or a gradual reformation.

The purposes of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as declared in the second article of its Constitution, are to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

* Appendix (A.)

The magnitude, benevolence and importance of these objects may be more readily perceived by a few illustrations.

Since the Declaration of Independence was put forth, nearly two millions of slaves have perished in this country, who were driven all their days under the lash of callous-hearted overseers; whose bodies were liable to mutilation from the brand and the whip—half supplied with the same coarse, unpalatable food—half clad in summer and in winter; but above all, whose minds were watchfully kept from all knowledge of their rights, of their relations to society and to God, of their destiny beyond the grave—heathens in a christian land, forbidden under horrid penalties to peruse the sacred Scriptures, or learn the alphabet of their language!

Would to Heaven that this embodied our wickedness! that our avarice and cruelty had been glutted in the destruction of this great multitude of hapless, inoffensive beings! But we are preying, at this hour, upon a larger number than those already slain. And yet this is called the land of freedom, of republicanism, of christianity! Every year, one hundred thousand infants—a large proportion the offspring of pollution and shame—are born, and doomed to the horrors of bondage—kidnapped from the hour of their birth by patriots and christians!

The New-England Anti-Slavery Society maintains that the slaves ought instantly to be emancipated from their fetters. It acknowledges no claims upon their persons by their masters. It regards the holders of slaves as guilty of a heinous sin. It reprobates the language of those who say, ‘we hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, SACRED.’ It says to every individual—‘Let the principle be clearly and firmly established in your mind that there is, and can be, no such thing as *property in man*, and you cannot, as a patriot, a philanthropist, or a disciple of Christ, oppose the immediate liberation of the slaves—you cannot but demand that liberation—you cannot be satisfied with any thing short of an immediate liberation.’ It is not for men of christian integrity to calculate how far it is expedient to do wrong. The slaves are either justly or unjustly held in bondage. If justly, let the traffic in their bodies be pursued with fresh activity, and all those laws be repealed which now

make the foreign slave trade piracy. If unjustly, there is no alternative but to disobey God, or to let them immediately go free.

‘But would it be safe to comply strictly with the requisitions of justice, *now*?’ If they were not made to be obeyed, for what purpose were they made? Is it safe for a band of robbers to cease from their robberies, *at once*? Is it safe for the fraudulent to be honest, *at once*? Is it safe to abandon the practice of trading in the bodies and souls of men, *at once*? Is it safe to obey the Most High, by breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free, *at once*? Strange questions from the mouths of a christian people!

A very singular kind of logic prevails at the present day. ‘I concede,’ says one, ‘that slavery in the *abstract* is very wicked; but I am opposed to immediate abolition.’ Slavery in the *abstract*? what does the objector mean? *Abstract* slavery never did, and never can exist. He means, perhaps—his language implies nothing else—that it is most atrocious to *think* of enslaving human beings; but, in fact, to buy, or sell, or hold them in fetters, is by no means sinful!—that is to say, if a man should merely *meditate* the destruction of the houses of his fellow citizens by fire, without any doubt he ought to be hung; but if he should actually set them on fire, and run from street to street with the burning brand in his hand, to destroy others, why then he would not be guilty. It would only be necessary for him to cry aloud to the firemen—‘I am as much opposed to arson, in the *abstract*, as you are; but, see! the houses are on fire! My abstract theory has assumed a practical shape, and therefore I am exonerated from blame. I am opposed to an immediate extinguishment of the fire! Put it out very gradually—a few drops of water may now be thrown upon it—some buckets full next week—and at some future time, I cannot tell when, you may give your engines full play!’

They who are crying, ‘Peace! Peace!’ at this momentous crisis—who are denouncing the active friends of bleeding humanity—who urge a far-off emancipation of the slaves—who would stifle all inquiries into the abominations of slavery—who deny the rights of the slaves to immediate freedom—who attempt to palliate the guilt and cover up the crimes of the plant-

ers—who pursue half-way measures of reform—are the real authors of mischief, the real enemies of their country, although they mean no harm. Their moral vision is imperfect—they have not carefully and candidly examined the subject. They seem to have forgotten that, in this case, as in all others, strict obedience to the law of God is the only ground of safety : they overlook the nature of mind and the constitution of man. Even on the detestable ground of expediency, of carnal policy, what facts can they show to warrant a prolongation of oppression ? The law of God may be thrown aside, and the controversy staked on this single point :—It can be shown that, in all ages and climes, oppression has resulted in carnage and death ; but the deluded advocates of gradual emancipation are challenged to produce any instances in which immediate emancipation from personal thralldom has been disastrous or unwise.

The cause of slave insurrections at the south is the loss of liberty. If the *cause* be removed, can the *effect* follow ? The slaves fight to obtain their personal freedom. If they were liberated, it is pretended, they would destroy their masters !—in other words, they fight to achieve their liberty, and when it is given to them, they fight because they receive it ! This is singular logic. They are so attached to their drivers, it would seem—so pleased with being bought and sold—so contented with their peck of corn per week—so fond of having their wives polluted, and their children driven away to be sold—so hostile to independence—so undesirous of knowledge—that if they were set free, they would be so angry in being employed as hired laborers, in possessing their own wives and children, in losing their fetters, in being placed beyond the reach of slave speculators, in being protected in their persons and earnings, in having an opportunity to get religious and secular instruction, that they would cut the throats of their former masters, burn their dwellings, and desolate the land !

The Board of Managers are satisfied that the doctrine of immediate abolition is opposed by many, not because they really mean to justify crime, but simply through ignorance or a misapprehension of its nature. It is associated in their minds with something undefinable, yet dreadful—they see, in imagination,

cities and villages in flames, and blood flowing in torrents, and hear the roll of drums, the shouts of blood-thirsty savages, and the shrieks of the dying—and thus, bringing upon themselves a strong delusion, they naturally stand aghast at the proposition. All this ruffling of mind is indeed ridiculous ; but as it originates unwittingly in error, it merits a charitable allowance rather than satire.

What, then, is meant by immediate abolition ?

It means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease, because their Creator has never relinquished his claim of ownership, and because none have a right to sell their own bodies or buy those of their own species as cattle. Is there any thing terrific in this arrangement ?

It means, secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law ? Is this unreasonable ?

It means, thirdly, that parents shall have the control and government of their own children, and that the children shall belong to their parents. What is there sanguinary in this concession ?

It means, fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment. Can this be productive of evil ?

It means, fifthly, that the tremendous power which is now vested in every slaveholder to punish his slaves without trial, and to a savage extent, shall be at once taken away. Is this undesirable ?

It means, sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves, shall instantly be repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination. Would this prove a calamity ?

It means, seventhly, that the planters shall employ their slaves as free laborers, and pay them just wages. Would this recompense infuriate them ?

It means, eighthly, that the slaves, instead of being forced to labor for the exclusive benefit of others by cruel drivers, and the application of the lash upon their bodies, shall be encouraged to toil for the mutual profit of themselves and their employ-

ers, by the infusion of new motives into their hearts, growing out of their recognition and reward as men. Is this diabolical ?

It means, finally, that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism. Is this wrong ?

This is our meaning of Immediate Abolition.

Where is the individual in New-England, who is base enough to avow that, on these terms, he is hostile to the liberation of the slaves ? who dares to say, in a public and responsible manner,—‘ I am still for giving to the planters unlimited dominion over their slaves, that they may treat them like cattle, deprive them of instruction, mangle, starve and pollute their bodies, rob them of their earnings, and buy and sell them on speculation, as they do at present ?’ O ! surely there is not that wretch in New-England—if there be, he is a monster, retaining nothing of man but the shape. Where is the individual animated with a soul, having parents, or relations, or children, or friends, who will not exclaim, ‘ I am for the rescue of two millions of enslaved countrymen ! To talk of the danger or injustice of giving them the protection of wise and equitable laws, and relieving them of their heavy burdens, is an insult to my understanding. I contend for the sacredness of the marriage relations, which are now violated by oppression—for the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners—for the enforcement of that clause in the Declaration of Independence which asserts “ that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ”—and for the instant recognition of every American born citizen, as a countryman and brother !’

Having thus briefly defined the extent of immediate abolition, it may be useful to state some of its probable, nay, positive benefits.

It will remove the cause of bloodshed and insurrection. No patrols at night, no standing army, will be longer needed to keep the slaves in awe. The planters may dismiss their present fears, and sleep soundly ; for, by one act, they will have transformed their enemies into grateful friends and servants.

It will give protection to millions who are now at the mercy of a few irresponsible masters and drivers : every man and every woman may then find redress at law.

It will annihilate a system of licentiousness, incest, blood and cruelty.

It will open an immense market to our mechanics and manufacturers ; for these two millions of free persons will need, and will make every exertion to obtain hats, bonnets, shoes, clothes, houses, lands, &c. &c., of which they are now to a great extent, and while they remain in bondage, must be destitute.

It will afford facilities for educating them in morals, science and literature, *which can never be granted to them as slaves.*

It will permit us to supply every one of them with a Bible, and bring them into the house of God.

It will extinguish the fires of division between the North and South, and make the bonds of our Union (which is now held by a hair, if that be not separated at this moment) stronger than chains of iron.

It will enable us to take the one hundred thousand infants, who are annually born of slave parents, and doomed to a life of ignorance and servitude—place them in infant schools, and transfer them into primary and sabbath schools ; from these into high schools and Bible classes ; and, by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, from Bible classes into the christian church. Thus they will become ornaments to society—capable men, good citizens, devoted christians—instead of mere animals.

It will banish the poverty of the South, reclaim her barren soil, and pour new blood into all her veins and arteries. The transformation of two millions of slaves into free laborers, animated in view of a just recompense for their voluntary toil, will renovate the whole frame of society. There is not a slave State but will exhibit the flush of returning health, and feel a stronger pulse, and draw a freer breath. It is, indeed, often urged that the slaves, if freed, would not work. But they, who cherish this belief, disregard the nature of mind. The slaves, in their present condition, have surely no motives for exertion ; and men without motives are mere machines, mere animals, to be watched and driven by physical force: the natural consequence is, they are as indolent as possible : knowing that, whether they

toil much or little, the fruits of their labor will be enjoyed by their masters, they are improvident and lazy. Then comes the whip upon their bodies *to make them industrious*, every stroke of which puts vengeance into their hearts, to be repaid, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and blow for blow, at the first favorable moment. Compensate them fairly for their labor, and every stone in the earth would be a magnet to attract them. They would have all the hopes, and desires, and feelings of men. And here it is proper to refer to a wild notion which is prevalent in this country. Many persons seem to be wonderfully perplexed and appalled, in view of immediate abolition. They talk as if the slaves, on being liberated, must be driven into the woods, or become drones or vagabonds in society. In the first place, this expulsion is physically impracticable; and, secondly, the planters are unable to dispense with their labor. The liberated slaves would be placed under wholesome regulations, and encouraged to act well; there would, of *necessity*, be few changes of masters, but every thing would go on as peaceably as in the case of the slaves in St. Domingo, who, for eight years after their liberation, continued to work with untiring industry, maintaining the utmost order, and were only roused to deeds of violence by the attempt of Napoleon to reduce them again to servitude. The labor of the blacks is invaluable—the south cannot flourish without them; and their expulsion would bring great and everlasting reproach upon the American name.

The immediate abolition of slavery will purify the churches at the south, which are now red with innocent blood, and ‘filled with all unrighteousness.’ It is impossible that religion should prosper, where the pastors and members of churches trade in the souls of men. ‘How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed! The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.’ Now, abolish slavery, and the gospel will have free course, run, and be glorified; salvation will flow in a current broad and deep; and for a short time only can it be reproachfully said that there exist two millions of slaves in a christian land.

In fine, immediate abolition would save the lives of the planters, enhance the value of their lands, promote their temporal

and eternal interests, and secure for them the benignant smiles of Heaven. It would destroy the market for slaves, and consequently, to a certain extent, destroy the foreign slave trade ; for when the Africans cannot be sold, they will not be stolen.

Whatever ignorance or delusion may advance to the contrary, the guilt of slaveholding is national ; the evil is national ; and ‘ a common evil implies a common right to apply a remedy.’ We, of New-England, deeply participate in the guilt of oppression, having early commenced enslaving the natives of Africa, and up to the last hour of the legality of the traffic, actively prosecuted the foreign slave trade. To the south we are now pledging our physical force, in case of insurrection, and giving our co-operation, without which they could not long retain their victims in servitude. To the slaves, therefore, we are bound to make reparation ; and no pretext or device can release us from our obligations. ‘ Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.’

The Board of Managers would solemnly protest against the doctrine, that slavery concerns the south alone, and that the people of the free States have no right to demand its removal. They regard it as politically and morally false, calculated to paralyze the consciences and efforts of the people, and giving perpetuity to the system. It is true the people of New-England cannot legislate for the southern states ; that the national compact was so framed as to guarantee the legal possession of slaves ; and that physical interference would be a violation of christian principles. But, so long as slaves are held in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States ; so long as ours is a representative government, subject to the will of the people ; so long as no efforts are made to modify or repeal the present compact, by those who have both the right and the power thus to do ; so long as the interests of the non-slaveholding States are jeopardized by the twenty-five slave votes in Congress ; so long as moral influence, widely and wisely disseminated, is productive of beneficial results ; so long as public opinion is the lever of national reform ; so long as the people of New-England are liable to be called upon to put down slave insurrections at the south ; so long as there is neither the liberty of speech nor of the press, on the subject of oppression, in a

large portion of our country ; so long as southern States deprive the colored citizens of New-England, who may visit them, of their liberty and the rights of citizenship guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States ; so long as slavery mars the harmony, divides the policy, retards the prosperity, and fearfully threatens the existence of the nation ; so long as the commands of Jesus remain binding upon all men, ‘ Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,’ ‘ Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself’ ; so long as there remains any flesh in our hearts, any physical or moral affinity between us and our enslaved brethren, any love to God or man in our souls ; it never can be true that the people of New-England are not bound to use their moral and political power to overthrow slavery in the United States.

While the Anti-Slavery Society makes the emancipation of all the slaves in this country the primary object of its organization, it aims to achieve a noble work of beneficence, in regard to the free people of color. The condition of this unfortunate class, although perceptibly improving, is eminently deserving of compassion and alleviation. To effect the repeal of these laws, which, in the several States, press them down to the earth, and exclude them from a full exercise of their rights as freemen ; to procure for them mechanical trades, and reputable pursuits, by which they may become highly useful to the country, and banish their general poverty ; to encourage and assist them in all laudable efforts for their moral and intellectual improvement ; to provide schools, from the lowest to the highest grade, for their education ; and to exterminate those prejudices which now reign with such tyrannous sway against them ; these are purposes, for the accomplishment of which the New-England Anti-Slavery Society is pledged to spare no efforts.

The Managers consider the removal of the free colored population of the United States to the coast of Africa—to a land of darkness and barbarism—for the purpose of giving them literary, scientific and moral advantages, as highly reproachful to the good name and fame of this great nation, preposterous in its object, and palpably unjust. This is a christian land ; crowded with churches, schools and colleges ; the abode of science and the arts ; basking in the effulgence of the Sun of Righteous-

ness ; the asylum of the degraded and oppressed of other nations ; renowned for its literary and civil institutions ; possessing, far beyond any other country, the means of elevating the benighted mind of man ; and abundantly able to supply all the physical, intellectual and religious necessities of its population. Now to expatriate the free people of color to Africa, a continent more completely enveloped in gloom than any other, ' which is full of the habitations of cruelty,' and which is utterly destitute, in order to raise them in intelligence and dignity, is not only a burlesque upon moral enterprises, but the acme of folly. The reason, too, which is given by the Colonization Society for this expulsion, is monstrous ; and as often as it is urged in any of its reports, or in its official organ, or by any of its itinerants, should fill the readers and hearers of the base libel with indignation. It is—that the American people are so incorrigibly vile, so lost to all sense of shame, so far beyond repentance, so proscriptive in their feelings, so filled with all malice, prejudice, and hate, that, to the latest generation, they will not cease to treat their free colored countrymen in the most tyrannous and dastardly manner, unless they are separated by a breadth of four thousand miles. And in order to vindicate this ungodly spirit, the Managers of the American Colonization Society, in their last Annual Report, utter this blasphemy : ' The Managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent as a class, in this country, which are fixed, *not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, BUT OF ANY HUMAN POWER.* Christianity will not do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, *nor of the white man*, nor of Christianity ; *but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of Nature.*'

In other words, when God shall please to make their complexion like ours, then we shall be able to cease from our hatred, contumely and oppression—and *not till then.*

With the doctrines, principles and designs of the American Colonization Society, the New-England Anti-Slavery Society holds no fellowship—viewing them as utterly subversive of sound morality and the law of brotherly love, and calculated to inflame

and strengthen those prejudices which have so long operated against the free colored population of the United States. Submitting the motives of those who support the scheme of African Colonization to the inspection of Him who alone ‘searcheth the heart and trieth the reins,’ and cheerfully exonerating the people of the free States, generally, from any design to persecute or enslave the people of color in this land, the Managers proceed to state, as comprehensibly as possible, some of the reasons which lead abolitionists to oppose the American Colonization Society.

They denounce and oppose it—

1. Because (as has already been shown) it denies the power of the gospel to overcome prejudice, and maintains that no moral or educational means can ever raise the colored population from their degradation to respectability and usefulness *in this country*. (1) By inculcating this disgraceful doctrine, it measurably paralyzes, in the breasts of those who embrace it, all efforts to improve the character and condition of this unfortunate class.

(1) Vide Fifteenth Annual Report.

‘In every part of the United States, there is a broad and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has *one drop* of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither *refinement*, nor *argument*, nor *education*, NOR RELIGION ITSELF, can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation *inevitable* and *incurable*. The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station HE CAN NEVER RISE, *be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues what they may*. . . . They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which *no individual can be elevated*, and below which none can be depressed.’—[African Repository, vol. iv. pp. 118, 119.]

‘We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect, or to the respect of others (!!!) *It is not our fault that we have failed*; (!!!) it is not theirs. *It has resulted from a cause over which neither we, nor they, can ever have control* [that is to say, they have colored their skins!!!] *Here, therefore, they must be for ever debased*; more than this, they must be FOR EVER USELESS; more even than this, they must be FOR EVER A NUISANCE, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid. *And yet they, AND THEY ONLY, are QUALIFIED for colonizing Africa*’ (!!!)—[Idem, vol. v. p. 276.]

‘They constantly hear the accents, and behold the triumphs, of a liberty *which here they can never enjoy*.’ . . . ‘It is against this increase of colored persons, who take but a nominal freedom here, and *cannot rise from their degraded condition*, that this Society attempts to provide.’—[Idem, vi. pp. 17, 82.]

‘Is it not *wise*, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, *what cannot reasonably be doubted*, that the people of color must, *in this country, REMAIN FOR AGES, PROBABLY FOR EVER, a separate and inferior caste*, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable; which neither legislation nor CHRISTIANITY can remove?’—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 196.]

2. Because it not only is *not* hostile to slavery, but in its reports and in its official organ, and by its auxiliary societies and principal supporters, exonerates slaveholders from guilt, and represents their *criminality* as their *misfortune*. ⁽²⁾

3. Because it surrenders the great principle, that man cannot justly hold property in man, and regards the wresting of the slaves from their masters as great an outrage as the invasion of the right of property in houses, cattle and land. ⁽³⁾

4. Because it openly, actively, uncompromisingly denounces the immediate abolition of slavery as injustice to the masters, a calamity to the slaves, dangerous to society, and contrary to the requirements of Christianity. ⁽⁴⁾

(2) 'Slavery is an evil which is entailed upon the present generation of slaveholders, which they must suffer, *whether they will or not*.'—[African Repository, vol. v. p. 179.]

'It [the Society] *condemns no man because he is a slaveholder*.' * * * 'They [abolitionists] *counfound the misfortunes of one generation with the crimes of another, and would sacrifice both individual and public good to an unsubstantial theory of the rights of man*.'—[Idem, vol. vii. pp. 200, 202.]

'The existence of slavery among us, though not at all to be objected to our southern brethren as a *fault*, is yet a blot on our national character and a mighty drawback from our national strength.'—[Second Annual Report of the N. Y. State Col. Society.]

'They do not perceive the propriety of confounding the crime of the kidnapper, with the *misfortune* of the owner of imported and inherited slaves.'—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

(3) 'We hold their slaves, *as we hold their other property, SACRED*.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 283.]

'Does this Society wish to meddle with our slaves as our *rightful property*? I answer *no*, I think not.'—[Idem, vol. ii. p. 13.]

'It is equally plain and undeniable that the Society, in the prosecution of this work, has never interfered or evinced even a disposition to interfere in any way with the *rights of proprietors of slaves*.'—[Idem, vol. vi. p. 205.]

'To the slaveholder, who had charged upon them the wicked design of interfering with the *RIGHTS OF PROPERTY* under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and dangerous free population, they address themselves in a tone of conciliation and sympathy. We know your *RIGHTS*, say they, *and we respect them*.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 100.]

'It was proper again and again to repeat, that it was far, from the intention of the Society to affect in any manner, the tenure by which a certain *species of property is held*. He was himself a slaveholder; *and he considered that kind of property as inviolable as any other in the country*.'—[Speech of Henry Clay—First Annual Report.]

(4) 'The scope of the Society is large enough, but it is in no wise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of *a few fanatics* in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery.'—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 97.]

'What is to be done? Immediate and universal emancipation will find few, if any advocates among judicious and reflecting men.' * * * 'Here, that race is in every form a curse, and if the system, so long contended for by the uncom-

5. Because it advocates a cautious, partial, gradual emancipation—thus allowing that it is not incumbent on *all* oppressors to do justly and love mercy now, and that it is proper to cease from robbery and sin by a slow process. ⁽⁵⁾

6. Because, while it professes to remove those emigrants only who go ‘*with their own consent*’ to Africa, it is the instrument of a cruel persecution against the free people of color, by its abuse of their character, representing them as seditious, dangerous and useless : it contends, moreover, that emancipation should not take place without the simultaneous transportation of the liberated—thus leaving to the slave the choice of banishment or perpetual servitude. ⁽⁶⁾

promising abolitionist, could prevail, its effect would be to spread discord and devastation from one end of the Union to the other.—[*Idem*, vol. iv. pp. 202, 363.]

‘Were the very spirit of angelic charity to pervade and fill the hearts of all the slaveholders in our land, it would by no means require that all the slaves should be instantaneously liberated.’—[*Idem*, vol. v. p. 329.]

‘The Society, meeting the objections of the *abolition enthusiast*, in a like spirit of mildness and forbearance, assures him of their equal devotion to the pure principles of liberty and the powerful claims of humanity. . . . ‘We protest, *most solemnly protest*, against the adoption of your views, as alike destructive of the ends of justice, of policy, and of humanity.’ . . . ‘Come, ye abolitionists, away with your *wild enthusiasm*, your *misguided philanthropy*.’—[*Idem*, vol. vii. p. 101.]

‘The inhabitants of the South cannot, and ought not, suddenly to emancipate their slaves, to remain among them free. Such a measure would be no blessing to the slaves, but the very madness of self-destruction to the whites.—[*First Annual Report of the New-Jersey Colonization Society*.]

(5) Vide the evidence given in support of the 4th allegation.

(6) ‘That the free colored population of our country is a great and constantly increasing evil must be readily acknowledged. Averse to labor, with no incentives to industry or motives to self-respect, they maintain a precarious existence by petty thefts and plunder, themselves, or by inciting our domestics, not free, to rob their owners to supply their wants.’—[*African Repository*, vol. vi. p. 135.]

‘Placed midway between freedom and slavery, they know neither the incentives of the one, nor the restraints of the other : but are alike injurious by their conduct and example, to all other classes of society.’—[*Eighth Annual Report*.]

‘No scheme of abolition will meet my support, that leaves the emancipated blacks among us.’—[*African Repository*, vol. ii. p. 188.]

‘We would say, *liberate them only on condition of their going to Africa or to Haiti*.’—[*Idem*, vol. iii. p. 26.]

‘*I am not complaining of the owners of slaves* ; it would be as humane to throw them from the decks in the middle passage, as to set them free in our country.’ * * * ‘*Any scheme of emancipation without colonization*, they know and see and feel to be productive of nothing but evil ; evil to all whom it affects : to the white population, to the slaves, to the *manumitted themselves*.’—[*Idem*, vol. iv. pp. 226, 300.]

‘Hundreds who hold slaves, would willingly set them at liberty, were the means of their removal provided. And till those means *are* provided, the liberation of the slave would neither be a blessing to himself, nor to the public.’

7. Because it confesses that its measures are calculated to secure the slave-system from destruction, to remove the apprehensions of slaveholders, to increase the value of slave property; and thus to perpetuate the thralldom of millions of native Americans. (7) The proposition is self-evident, that as the number of

... 'It is not therefore incumbent upon those who hold slaves, to set them at liberty, till some means are provided for their removal, or at least for their subsistence. They owe it neither to themselves, to their country, nor the unfortunate beings around them.'—[Idem, vol. v. p. 89.]

'If this question were submitted, whether there should be either immediate or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, *without their removal or colonization*, painful as it is to express the opinion, *I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them.*' * * * 'Gentlemen of the highest respectability from the South assure us, that there is among the owners of slaves a very extensive and increasing desire to emancipate them. Their patriotism, their humanity, nay, their self-interest, prompt to this; but it is not expedient, it is not safe to do it, *without being able to remove them.*'—[Idem, vol. vi. pp. 5, 110.]

'The idea of emancipating our slaves, and *permitting them to remain within the limits of the United States*, whether as a measure of humanity or of policy, is most decisively reprobated by universal public sentiment.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 230.]

'All emancipation, to however small an extent, *which permits the persons emancipated to remain in this country*, is an evil, which must increase with the increase of the operation.'—[First Annual Report.]

'They will annex the condition that the emancipated *shall leave the country.*'—[Second Annual Report.]

'They require that the *whole mass* of free persons of color, and those who may become such with the consent of their owners, *should be progressively removed* from among us, as fast as their own consent can be obtained, and as the means can be found for their removal and for their proper establishment in Africa.'—[Seventh Annual Report.]

'Colonization, to be correct, must be beyond seas—Emancipation, *with the liberty to remain on this side of the Atlantic, is but an act of dreamy madness!*'—[Thirteenth Annual Report.]

'*Emancipation, without removal from the country, is out of the question.*' * * * 'As long as our present feelings and prejudices exist, the abolition of slavery cannot be accomplished without the removal of the blacks—*they cannot be emancipated as a people, and remain among us.*'—[Second Annual Report of the New-York State Colonization Society.]

'*The abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization.* So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied by this condition, that *he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other!*'—[Mr. Mercer's Speech in Congress.]

'The Society maintains, that no slave ought to receive his liberty except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the state which sets him loose, but from the *whole country*; that is, of being colonized.'—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

(7.) 'So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, *the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.*'—[Speech of John Randolph at the first meeting of the Colonization Society.]

'The slave seeing his free companion live in idleness, or subsist however scantily or precariously by occasional and desultory employment, is apt to grow dis-

the slaves becomes reduced by transportation, the whole remaining mass will rise in value, and may be held more securely in bondage.

contented with his own condition, and to regard as tyranny and injustice the authority which compels him to labor.'—[General Harper's Letter—First Annual Report, p. 32.]

'The slaves would be greatly benefitted by the removal of the free blacks, who now corrupt them and render them discontented.'—[Second An. Report.]

'Their annual increase is truly astonishing, certainly unexampled. The dangerous ascendancy which they have already acquired over the slaves, is consequently increasing with every addition to their numbers; and every addition to their numbers is a subtraction from the wealth, and strength, and character, and happiness, and safety of the country.'—[Twelfth Annual Report.]

'We all knew the effects produced on our slaves by the fascinating, but delusive appearance of happiness, exhibited in some persons of their own complexion, roaming in idleness and vice among them. By removing the most fruitful source of discontent from among our slaves, we should render them more industrious and attentive to our commands.'—[Fourteenth Annual Report.]

'What is the free black to the slave? A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. *Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best—supplied, protected, instead of destitute and desolate—yet, the folly of the condition, held to involuntary labor, finds, always, allurements, in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of destitution and misery. The slave would have, then, little excitement to discontent but for the free black.*'—[Fifteenth Annual Report.]

'By removing these people, we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design which they may conceive; and who are better able, by their intelligence, and the facilities of their communication, to bring those designs to a successful termination.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 176.]

'Here, the African part of our population bears so large a proportion to the residue of European origin, as to create the most lively apprehension, especially in some quarters of the Union. Any project, therefore, by which, in a material degree, the dangerous element in the general mass can be diminished or rendered stationary, deserves deliberate consideration.'—[Idem, vol. ii. p. 338.]

'To remove these persons from among us, will increase the *usefulness*, and improve the moral character of those who remain in servitude, and *with whose labors the country is unable to dispense.*' * * * '*Are they vipers, who are sucking our blood?* we will hurl them from us. It is not sympathy alone,—not sickly sympathy, no, nor manly sympathy either,—which is to act on us; but vital policy, self-interest, are also enlisting themselves on the humane side in our breasts.'—[Idem, vol. iii. pp. 67, 201.]

'It places the attainment of the grand object in view, that is, to withdraw from the United States annually, so many of the colored population, and provide them a comfortable home and all the advantages of civilization in Africa, *as will make the number here remain stationary.*' * * * 'By thus repressing the rapid increase of blacks, the white population would be enabled to reach and soon overtop them. The consequence would be security.'—[Idem, vol. iv. pp. 271, 344.]

'They constitute a large mass of human beings, who hang as a vile excrescence upon society—the objects of a low debasing envy to our slaves, and to ourselves of universal suspicion and distrust.' * * * 'If this process were continued a second term of duplication, it would produce the extraordinary result of forty white men to one black in the country—a state of things in which we should not only cease to feel the burdens which now hang so heavily upon us, but actually regard the poor African as an object of curiosity, and not *uneasiness.*'

8. Because it was conceived, perfected, and is managed principally by those who hold thousands of their fellow creatures in cruel bondage, regarding them as cattle, and shamelessly refu-

* * * 'Enough, under favorable circumstances, might be removed for a few successive years—if young *females* were encouraged to go—to keep the whole colored population in check.'—[*Idem*, vol. vii. pp. 230, 232, 246.]

'They are well calculated to render the slaves sullen, discontented, unhappy, and refractory.'—[*Matthew Carey's Essays*.]

'But is it not certain, that should the people of the Southern States refuse to adopt the opinions of the Colonization Society? [relative to the gradual abolition of slavery, and continue to consider it both just and politic to leave, untouched, a system, for the termination of which, we think the whole wisdom and energy of the States should be put in requisition, that they will CONTRIBUTE MORE EFFECTUALLY TO THE CONTINUANCE AND STRENGTH OF THIS SYSTEM, by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised?']—[*African Repository*, vol. i. p. 227.]

'THE EXECUTION OF ITS SCHEME WOULD AUGMENT INSTEAD OF DIMINISHING THE VALUE OF THE PROPERTY LEFT BEHIND.'—[*Idem*, vol. ii. p. 344.]

'The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder.'—[*Idem*, vol. iii. p. 292.]

'The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to SECURE SLAVE-HOLDERS, AND THE WHOLE SOUTHERN COUNTRY, against certain evil consequences, growing out of the present threefold mixture of our population.'—[*Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society*.—*Idem*, vol. iv. p. 271.]

'If, as is most confidently believed, the colonization of the free people of color will render the slave who remains in America more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and, consequently, more useful to his master, &c.'—[*Second Ann. Rep.*]

'There is but one way, [to avert danger,] but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to PROVIDE AND KEEP OPEN A DRAIN FOR THE EXCESS BEYOND THE OCCASIONS OF PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT. Mr. Archer had been stating the case in the supposition, that after the present class of free blacks had been exhausted, by the operation of the plan he was recommending, others would be supplied for its action, in the proportion of the *excess of colored population it would be necessary to throw off*, by the process of voluntary manumission or sale. This effect, must result inevitably from the depreciating value of the slaves, ensuing their disproportionate multiplication.

The depreciation would be relieved and retarded at the same time, by the process. The two operations would aid reciprocally, and sustain each other, and both be in the highest degree beneficial. It was on the ground of interest, therefore, the most indisputable *pecuniary interest*, that he addressed himself to the people and Legislatures of the slaveholding States.'—[*Speech of Mr. Archer*.—*Fifteenth Annual Report*.]

'None are obliged to follow our example; AND THOSE WHO DO NOT, WILL FIND THE VALUE OF THEIR NEGROES INCREASED BY THE DEPARTURE OF OURS.'—[*An advocate of colonization in the Western (Ky.) Luminary*.]

'So far from its having a dangerous tendency, when properly considered, it will be viewed as *an additional guard to our peculiar species of property*.'—[*An advocate of the Society in the New Orleans Argus*.]

'The slaveholder, who is in danger of having his slaves contaminated by their free friends of color, will not only be relieved from this danger, but THE VALUE OF HIS SLAVE WILL BE ENHANCED.'—[*A new and interesting view of Slavery. By Humanitas, a colonization advocate. Baltimore, 1820.*]

sing to let them go free ; ⁽⁸⁾ and while they thus estimate and treat their miserable victims, it is a gross fallacy for them to pretend that they cherish any regard for the welfare of the free people of color. They dare to call the rational creatures of the Most High their *property*, and pertinaciously persist in their deeds of violence and robbery. ‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’ As consistently might the distillers, importers, and retailers of ardent spirits unite to banish intemperance from the land, *by colonizing all the drunkards*, and still continue to poison all classes of society ; as well might debauchees associate together to rid the country of a ‘great moral evil,’ by removing some of the victims of their lust ; as for slaveholders to conspire for the banishment of our free colored population, under the mask of disinterested philanthropy, while they are daily plundering their slaves of every thing precious and sacred. The spectacle is truly revolting.

(8.) ‘What greater pledge can we give for the moderation and safety of our measures than our own interests as *slaveholders*, and the ties that bind us to the slaveholding communities to which we belong ?’—Speech of Mr. Key.—Eleventh Annual Report.]

‘The earnestness with which the Legislature [of Virginia] prosecuted their design of colonizing the free blacks,] may be inferred from the fact, that the Executive was requested to adopt measures of the same character with those just mentioned, at three several times anterior to 1816. . . . Put all these, it should be observed, were *private proceedings* ; and the *abolition of slavery has not been removed*, so far as we know, to this day, excepting as to the fact that such proceedings took place. The first *public* expression of sentiment upon the subject of colonization was also made by the same body. This was in Dec. 1816.’

‘THE SYSTEM ORIGINATED IN THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENT DOMINION. It was generously countenanced by Georgia in its earliest stages. Maryland has done more for it than all the other States. Kentucky and Tennessee have declared themselves ready to support any legitimate interposition of the General Government in its favor. Louisiana and Mississippi are beginning to act vigorously.’—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

‘The second objection may be resolved into this : that the Society, under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and noxious population, is secretly undermining the rights of private property. This is the objection expressed in its full force, and if your memorialists could for a moment believe it to be true in point of fact, they would never, *slaveholders, such as you*, have associated themselves together for the purpose of co-operating with the Parent Society ; and far less would they have appeared in the character in which they now do, before the legislative bodies of a slaveholding State.—[See end of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Bowdoin, to the Legislature of Virginia.—[Twelfth Annual Report.]

‘Nothing has contributed more to retard the operations of the Colonization Society than the mistaken notion that it interferes directly with slavery. This objection is rapidly vanishing away, and many of the slaveholding States are becoming efficient supporters of the national society.’—[From a Tract issued by the Massachusetts Colonization Society in 1831, for gratuitous distribution.]

9. Because it is Janus-faced, presenting one aspect at the South, and another entirely different to the North. Sometimes it is represented by its publications and supporters as the only scheme adapted to abolish slavery and the slave trade, and evangelize Africa; at other times it denies that it has any reference to either of these objects, but is simply endeavoring to remove such free persons of color as wish to emigrate to Africa. ⁽⁹⁾

‘Your memorialists refer with confidence to the course they have pursued, in the prosecution of their objects for nine years past, to shew that it is possible, without danger or alarm, to carry on such an operation, notwithstanding its supposed relation to the subject of slavery, and that they have not been regardless, in any of their measures, of what was due to the state of society in which they live. *They are, themselves, chiefly slaveholders*, and live with all the ties of life binding them to a slaveholding community.’—[Memorial of the Society to the several States.—*M. Rep.* vol. ii. p. 69.]

‘The first great material objection is that the Society does, in fact, in spite of its denial, meditate and conspire the emancipation of the slaves. To the candid, let me say that there are names on the rolls of the Society too high to be rationally accused of the duplicity and insidious falsehood which this implies; farther, the Society and its branches are composed, in by far the larger part, of *citizens of slaveholding States*, who cannot gravely be charged with a design so perilous to themselves.’ * * * ‘Let me repeat, the *friends* of the Colonization Society, three-fourths of them are *SLAVEHOLDERS*; the legislatures of Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee, all slaveholding States, have approved it; *every member* of this auxiliary Society is, *either in himself, or his nearest relatives, interested in holding slaves*.’—[‘The Colonization Society Vindicated.’—*Idem.* vol. iii. pp. 200, 202.]

‘About twelve years ago, some of the wisest men of the nation, *mostly slaveholders*, formed, in the city of Washington, the present American Colonization Society.’—[Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society.—*Idem.* vol. iv. p. 274.]

‘*Being, chiefly, slaveholders ourselves*, we well know how it becomes us to approach such a subject as this in a slaveholding state, and in every other. If there were room for a reasonable jealousy, we among the first should feel it; being as much interested in the welfare of the community, and having as much at heart, as any men can have, the security of ourselves, our property and our families.’—[Review of Mr. Tazewell’s Report.—*Idem.* p. 341.]

‘*Being, mostly, slaveholders ourselves*, having a common interest with you in this subject, an equal opportunity of understanding it, and the same motives to prudent action, what better guarantee can be afforded for the just discrimination, and the safe operation of our measures?’—[*M. Rep.* vol. vii. p. 100.]

‘It is a gratifying circumstance that the Society has from the first *obtained its most decided and efficient support from the slaveholding States*.’—Sermon, delivered at Springfield, Mass. July 4th, 1829, before the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Hampden County, by Rev. B. Dickinson.]

(9.) ‘Its primary object now is, and ever has been, to colonize, with their own consent, free people of color on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, as Congress may deem expedient. And, Sir, I am unwilling to admit, under any circumstances, and particularly in this Hall, that it ever has swerved from this cardinal object.’—[Speech of Mr. Benham.—Fourteenth Annual Report.]

‘Our Society and the friends of colonization wish to be distinctly understood upon this point. From the beginning they have *disavowed*, and they do yet *disavow*, that their object is the *emancipation of the slaves*.’—[Speech of James S. Green, Esq.—First Annual Report of the New-Jersey Col. Soc.]

10. Because it impiously holds that slaveholders are such from *necessity*; that the atrocious laws which are enacted against the free colored and slave population are justified by sound policy; and that it is wrong to increase the number of the free blacks by emancipation. (10)

'This institution proposes to do good by a single specific course of measures. Its direct and specific purpose is *not the abolition of slavery*, or the relief of pauperism, or the extension of commerce and civilization, or the enlargement of science, or the conversion of the heathen. The single object which its constitution prescribes, and to which all its efforts are necessarily directed, is, African colonization from America. It proposes only to afford facilities for the voluntary emigration of free people of color from this country to the country of their fathers.'—[Review on African Colonization.—Christian Spectator for September, 1830.]

'It is *no abolition Society*; it addresses as yet *arguments to no master*, and disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave. IT DENIES THE DESIGN OF ATTEMPTING EMANCIPATION, EITHER PARTIAL OR GENERAL.'—['The Col. Society Vindicated.'—Af. Rep. vol. iii. p. 197.]

'They can impress upon the southern slaveholder, by the strength of facts, and by the recorded declarations of honest men, that the objects of the Colonization Society are altogether pure and praiseworthy, and that it has no intention to open the door to universal liberty, but only to cut out a channel, where the merciful providence of God may cause those dark waters to flow off.'—[Idem, vol. iv. p. 145.]

'The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced wholly the name and the characteristics of abolitionists. On this point they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. INTO THEIR ACCOUNTS THE SUBJECT OF EMANCIPATION DOES NOT ENTER AT ALL.'—['N. E.'—Idem, p. 306.]

'From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the *object of emancipation, gradual or immediate.*' * * * 'The Society presents to the American public, *no project of emancipation.*'—[Mr. Clay's Speech.—Idem, vol. vi. pp. 13, 17.]

'It is not the object of this Society to liberate slaves, or touch the rights of property.'—[Report of the Kentucky Col. Soc.—Idem, p. 81.]

'The emancipation of slaves, or the amelioration of their condition, with the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of people of color within the United States, are subjects foreign to the powers of this Society.'—[Address of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society to its Auxiliary Societies.—Idem, vol. vii. p. 291.]

'It disclaims, and always has disclaimed, all intention whatever, of interfering in the smallest degree, direct or *indirect*, with the rights of slaveholders, the right of property, or the *object of emancipation, gradual or immediate.* It knows that the owners of slaves are the owners, and no one else—it does not in the most remote degree, touch that delicate subject. Every slaveholder may, therefore, remain at ease concerning it or its progress or objects.'—[An advocate of the Society in the New-Orleans Argus.]

'The Society, as a society, recognizes no principles in reference to the slave system. IT SAYS NOTHING AND PROPOSES TO DO NOTHING, RESPECTING IT.' . . . 'So far as we can ascertain, the supporters of the colonization policy generally believe, that slavery is in this country a constitutional and legitimate system, WHICH THEY HAVE NEITHER INSINUATION, INTEREST, NOR ABILITY TO DISTURB.'—[North American Review, for July, 1822.]

(10.) 'Recognizing the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery, it seeks not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the rights which it creates.

11. Because its mode of civilizing and christianizing Africa is preposterous, cruel and wild, and exactly fitted to raise up strong, if not insurmountable barriers to the progress of the gospel in that country ; for the very persons it proposes to remove, it describes as constituting the vilest class on the face of the earth, who nevertheless are well qualified to act as instructors

Acknowledging the *necessity* by which its present continuance and the rigorous provisions for its maintenance are justified, it aims only at furnishing the States, in which it exists, the means of immediately lessening its severities, and of ultimately relieving themselves from its acknowledged evils.'—[Opimius in reply to Caius Gracchus.—Af. Rep. vol. iii. p. 16.]

'IT CONDEMNS NO MAN BECAUSE HE IS A SLAVEHOLDER.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 200.]

'There is a golden mean, which all who would pursue the solid interest and reputation of their country may discern at the very heart of their confederation, and will both advocate and enforce—a principle of justice, conciliation and humanity—a principle, sir, which is not inconsistent with itself, and yet can sigh over the degradation of the slave, defend the wisdom and prudence of the South against the charge of studied and pertinacious cruelty,' &c.—[Address of Robert F. Stockton, Esq. at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Parent Society.]

'We all know from a variety of considerations which it is unnecessary to name, and in consequence of the policy which is obliged to be pursued in the southern States, that it is extremely difficult to free a slave, and hence the enactment of those laws which a *fatal necessity* seems to demand.'—[African Repository, vol. ii. p. 12.]

'They are convinced that there are now hundreds of masters who are so only from *necessity*.'—[Memorial of the Society to the several States.—Idem, vol. ii. p. 60.]

'He [the planter] looks around him and sees that the condition of the great mass of emancipated Africans is one in comparison with which the condition of his slaves is enviable.—Hundreds of humane and Christian slaveholders retain their fellow-men in bondage, because THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THEY CAN DO NO BETTER.'—[Address of the Managers of the Col. Soc. of Connecticut.—Idem, vol. iv. p. 120.]

'Slavery, in its mildest form, is an evil of the darkest character. Cruel and unnatural in its origin, no plea can be urged in justification of its continuance but the plea of *necessity*.'—[Idem, vol. v. p. 334.]

'How much more consistent and powerful would be our example, but for that population within our limits, whose condition (*necessary* condition, I will not deny) is so much at war with our institutions, and with that memorable national Declaration—"that all men are created equal."—[Fourteenth Ann. Report.]

'Such unhappily is the case ; but there is a *necessity* for it, [for oppressive laws.] and so long as they remain among us will that necessity continue.'—[Ninth Annual Report.]

'Much as we lament the reasons for this sentiment, and the *apparent necessity* of keeping a single fellow creature in ignorance, we willingly leave to others the consideration and the remedy of this evil, in view of the overwhelming magnitude of the remaining objects before us.'—[Address of the Board of Managers of the African Education Society of the United States.]

'Thousands are connected with the system of slavery from *necessity*, and not from choice.' . . . 'The vast majority of those who would emancipate, we have no hesitation in saying, are deterred from it by a PATRIOTISM and a PHILANTHROPY, which look beyond the bounds of their particular district, and beyond the ostensible quality of the mere abstract act.'—[North American Review, July, 1832.]

and missionaries in Liberia! * Truly has it been said, that the project of evangelizing a heathenish country, by sending to it an illiterate, degraded and irreligious population, for absurdity and inaptitude, stands, and must forever stand, without a parallel: of all the offspring of prejudice and oppression, it is the most shapeless and unnatural. Men, who are intellectually and

‘What but sorrow can we feel at the *misguided p'cty* which has set free so many of them by death-bed devise or sudden conviction of injustice? Better, far better, for us, had they been kept in bondage, where the opportunity, the inducements, the necessity of vice would not have been so great. Deplorable *necessity*, indeed, to one borne down with the consciousness of the violence we have done. Yet I am clear that, whether we consider it with reference to the welfare of the State, or the happiness of the blacks, it were better to have left them in chains, than to have liberated them to receive such freedom as they enjoy, and greater freedom we cannot, must not allow them.’—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 197.]

‘They leave a country in which though born and reared, they are strangers and aliens; where *severe necessity* places them in a class of degraded beings.’—[Idem, vol. v. p. 238.]

‘Our great and good men purposed it primarily as a system of relief for two millions of fellow men in our own country—a population dangerous to ourselves and *necessarily degraded here*.’—[Idem, vol. vi. p. 295.]

‘Slavery is a system for the existence of which, a single moment, no plea can be valid but the plea of *necessity*.’—Letter of Rev. R. R. Gurley, vide Hudson (Ohio) Observer & Telegraph, December 20, 1832.]

‘It is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves.’—[Seventh Annual Report.]

‘The managers could, with no propriety, depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their object. And they would further say, that if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free colored population by manumission, *unnecessary, premature and dangerous*.’—[Af. Rep. vol. iii. p. 58.]

‘TO SET THEM LOOSE AMONG US WOULD BE AN Evil MORE INTOLERABLE THAN SLAVERY ITSELF. It would make our situation insecure and dangerous.’—[Report of the Kentucky Col. Rec.—Idem, vol. vi. p. 81.]

‘Policy, and even the voice of humanity forbade the progress of manumission; and the salutary hand of law came forward to co-operate with our convictions, and to arrest the flow of our feelings, and the ardor of our desires.’—[Review of the Report of the Com. of Foreign Relations.—African Repository, vol. iv. p. 268.]

‘Many thousand individuals in our native State, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained, said Mr. Mercer, from manumitting their slaves, as you and I are, by the melancholy conviction, that they cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity, without manifest injury to their country.’ * * * ‘The laws of Virginia now discourage, and very wisely, perhaps, the emancipation of slaves.’—[Speech of Mr. Mercer.—First Annual Report.]

‘There are men in the southern states, who long to do something effectual for the benefit of their slaves, and would gladly emancipate them, did not PRUDENCE and COMPASSION alike forbid such a measure.’—Review of the Reports of the Society from the Christian Spectator.—Seventh Annual Report.]

‘EVERY EMIGRANT to Africa is a MISSIONARY, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.’!!!—[Speech of Mr. Clay—Tenth Annual Report.]

morally blind, are violently removed from light effulgence into thick darkness, in order that they may obtain light themselves and diffuse light among others ! Ignorance is sent to instruct ignorance, ungodliness to exhort ungodliness, vice to stop the progress of vice, and depravity to reform depravity ! All that is abhorrent to our moral sense, or dangerous to our quietude, or villanous in human nature, we benevolently disgorge upon Africa for her temporal and eternal welfare ! (11) We propose to build upon her shores, for her glory and defence, colonies framed of materials which we discard as worthless for our own use, and which possess no fitness or durability ! Admirable consistency ! surprising wisdom ! unexampled benevolence !

‘We do not ask that the provisions of our Constitution and statute book should be so modified as to relieve and exalt the condition of the colored people, *whilst they remain with us*. LET THESE PROVISIONS STAND IN ALL THEIR RIGOR, to work out the ultimate and unbounded good of this people. Persuaded that their condition here is not susceptible of a radical and permanent improvement, we would deprecate any legislation that should encourage the vain and injurious hope of it.’—[Memorial of the New-York State Col. Society.]

(11) ‘Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves.’—[Af. Repository, vol. ii. p. 328.]

‘Although there are individual exceptions distinguished by high moral and intellectual worth, yet the free blacks in our country are, as a body, more vicious and degraded than any other which our population embraces.’ * * * ‘There is not a State in the Union not at this moment groaning under the evil of this class of persons, a curse and a contagion wherever they reside.’—[Idem, vol. iii. pp. 24, 203.]

‘Mr. Mercer adverted to the situation of his native State, and the condition of the free black population existing there, whom he described as a horde of miserable people—the objects of universal suspicion ; **SUBSISTING BY PLUNDER.**’—[Idem, vol. iv. p. 363.]

‘Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of color are by far, as a class, the **MOST CORRUPT, DEPRAVED, AND ABANDONED.**’ . . . ‘They have no home, no country, no kindred, no friends. They are lazy and indolent, because they have no motives to prompt them to be industrious. They are in general destitute of principle, because they have nothing to stimulate them to honorable and praise-worthy conduct.’—[Idem, vol. vi. pp. 12, 228.]

‘The existence, within the very bosom of our country, of an anomalous race of beings, **THE MOST DEBASED UPON EARTH**, who neither enjoy the blessings of freedom, nor are yet in the bonds of slavery, is a great national evil, which every friend of his country must deeply deplore.’—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 230.]

‘The class we first seek to remove, are neither freemen nor slaves ; but between both, and more miserable than either.’ * * * ‘Leaving slavery and its subjects for the moment entirely out of view, there are in the United States 238,000 blacks denominated free, but whose freedom confers on them, we might say, no privilege but the privilege of being more vicious and miserable than slaves can be.’—[App. Seventh Annual Report.]

‘Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free colored. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political, and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites.’—[Tenth Annual Report.]

1. Because it is held in abhorrence by the free people of color, wherever they possess the liberty of speech and the means of intelligence, as a scheme full of evil to themselves and to their enslaved brethren ; and to expect a change in their sentiments, after so long a time and the reiterated public expressions of their undying hostility, is gross fatuity. (12)

(12) RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Resolved, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, 'that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,' when in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied around the standard of their country.

Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country ; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong ; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NEW-YORK.

Resolved, That we view the resolution calling on the worshippers of Christ to assist in the unholy crusade against the colored population of this country, as totally at variance with true Christian principles.

Resolved, That we claim this country, the place of our birth, and not Africa, as our mother country, and all attempts to send us to Africa we consider as gratuitous and uncalled for.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF BOSTON.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the American Colonization Society as a clamorous, abusive and peace-disturbing combination.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the conduct of those clergymen, who have filled the ears of their respective congregations with the absurd idea of the necessity of removing the free colored people from the United States, as highly deserving the just reprehension directed to the false prophets and priests, by Jeremiah the true prophet, as recorded in the 23d chapter of his prophecy.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF BALTIMORE.

Resolved, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is founded more in a selfish policy, than in the true principles of benevolence :—and, therefore, so far as it regards the life-giving spring of its operations, is not entitled to our confidence, but should be viewed by us with all that caution and distrust which our happiness demands.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Resolved, That this meeting view with distrust the efforts made by the Colonization Society to cause the free people of color of these United States to emigrate to Liberia on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere.

Resolved, That it is the declared opinion of the members of this meeting, that the soil which gave them birth is their only true and veritable home, and that it would be impolitic, unwise and improper for them to leave their home without the benefits of education.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Resolved, unanimously, That the call of this meeting be approved of ; and that the colored citizens of this village have, with friendly feelings, taken into consideration the objects of the American Colonization Society, together with

Finally, abolitionists oppose the Colonization Society, *because it neither calls for any change of conduct toward the people of color, on the part of the nation, NOR HAS IN ITSELF ANY PRINCIPLE OF REFORM.* It confesses to be actuated and governed by strong, vindictive prejudices—‘prejudices, which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, *nor religion itself*, can overcome’—prejudices which are fixed beyond the

all its auxiliary movements, preparatory for our removal to the coast of Africa; and we view them as wholly gratuitous, not called for by us, and not essential to the real welfare of our race.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF HARTFORD, CT.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is actuated by the same motives which influenced the mind of Pharaoh, when he ordered the male children of the Israelites to be destroyed.

Resolved, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the Society is the greatest foe to the free colored and slave population with whom liberty and equality have to contend.

Resolved, That, in our belief, we have committed no crime worthy of banishment, and that we will resist, even unto death, all the attempts of the Colonization Society to banish us from this our native land.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF MIDDLETOWN, CT.

Resolved, That the proceedings of our brethren in Brooklyn, N. Y., meet our entire approbation: they breathe our sentiments in full, and may our voices cheerfully accord with them in protesting against leaving this our native soil.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NEW-HAVEN, CT.

Resolved, That we will resist all attempts made for our removal to the torrid shores of Africa, and will sooner suffer every drop of blood to be taken from our veins than submit to such unrighteous treatment.

Resolved, That we consider the American Colonization Society founded on principles that no Afric-American, unless very weak in mind, will follow; and any man who will be persuaded to leave his own country and go to Africa, as an enemy to his country and a traitor to his brethren.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF COLUMBIA, PA.

Resolved, That it is our firm belief, that the Colonization Society is replete with infinite mischief, and that we view all the arguments of its advocates as mere sophistry, not worthy our notice as freemen.

Resolved, That we will not be duped out of our rights as freemen, by colonizationists, nor by any other combination of men. All the encomiums pronounced upon Liberia can never form the least temptation to induce us to leave our native soil, to emigrate to a strange land.

Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that African colonization is a scheme of southern policy, a wicked device of slaveholders who are desirous of riveting more firmly, and perpetuating more certainly, the fetters of slavery; who are only anxious to rid themselves of a population whose presence, influence and example have a tendency (as they suppose) to produce discontent among the slaves, and to furnish them with incitements to rebellion.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NANTUCKET.

Resolved, That the call of this meeting be approved of, and that the colored citizens of this town have with friendly feelings taken into consideration the objects of the Colonization Society, together with its movements preparatory for

control of any human power,' which spring 'from an ordination of Providence,' and which are 'no more to be changed than the laws of Nature.' But benevolence and prejudice do not run in the same channel—they are opposed to each other. Hence the Society is not a benevolent institution, according to its own confessions ; and, therefore, does not deserve the confidence or patronage of benevolent men.

our removal to the coast of Africa ; and we view them as wholly gratuitous, not called for by us, and in no way essential to the welfare of our race ; and we believe that our condition can be best improved in this our own country and native soil, the United States of America.

Resolved, That there is no philanthropy towards the people of color in the colonization plan, but that it is got up to delude us away from our country and home into a country of sickness and death.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF PITTSBURG, PA.

Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that African colonization is a scheme to drain the better informed part of the colored people out of these United States, so that the chain of slavery may be riveted more tightly ; but we are determined not to be cheated out of our rights by the colonization men, or any other set of intriguers.

Resolved, That we, the colored people of Pittsburgh and citizens of these United States, view the country in which we live as our only true and proper home. We are just as much natives here as the members of the Colonization Society. Here we were born—here bred—here are our earliest and most pleasant associations—here is all that binds man to earth, and makes life valuable. And we do consider every colored man who allows himself to be colonized in Africa, or elsewhere, a traitor to our cause.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF WILMINGTON, DEL.

Resolved, That this meeting view with deep regret the attempt now making to colonize the free people of color on the western coast of Africa : believing as we do that it is inimical to the best interests of the people of color, and at variance with the principles of civil and religious liberty, and wholly incompatible with the spirit of the Constitution and Declaration of Independence of these United States.

Resolved, That we disclaim all connexion with Africa ; and although the descendants of that much afflicted country, we cannot consent to remove to any tropical climate, and thus aid in a design having for its object the total extirpation of our race from this country, professions to the contrary notwithstanding.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF HARRISBURG, PA.

Resolved, That we reject the inhuman and unchristian measures taken by the Colonization Society, for the illumination of the colored citizens of the United States, their appropriate home, in a land of sickness, affliction and death, when they are not willing, with few exceptions, to give us a christian education while among them.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the Colonization Society as a vicious, nefarious and peace-disturbing combination, and that its leaders might as well essay to cure a wound with an argument, or set a dislocated bone by a lecture on logic, as to tell us their object is to better our condition.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Resolved, That we never will remove to Africa : but should any of our brethren wish to emigrate, we would recommend Canada as a country far more congenial to our constitutions.

To prove the truth of the last allegation, it is only necessary to remember that the reason which is given by the Society for expatriating the colored population is,—*the wickedness of the people*—the determination, on their part, never to cease from persecuting those whom they have so long abused, degraded and enslaved. Yet the Society boasts that it receives the support of a great majority of the nation—that it is cherished by all religious denominations—and that it is hailed emphatically by ‘*the voice of the people.*’ If this be so,—if the friends of the Society constitute an overwhelming majority in this country, and they are actuated by true philanthropy,—if it is opposed only by ‘*a few wild fanatics,*’ otherwise named *abolitionists*, (who, certainly, are ready to give the people of color equal rights and privileges,)—and if, nevertheless, nothing but colonization can

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Resolved, That we view, with unfeigned astonishment, the anti-christian and inconsistent conduct of those who so strenuously advocate our removal from this our native country to the burning shores of Liberia, and who with the same breath contend against the cruelty and injustice of Georgia in her attempt to remove the Cherokee Indians west of the Mississippi.

Resolved, That we will not leave our homes, nor the graves of our fathers, and this boasted land of liberty and christian philanthropy.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF TRENTON, N. J.

Resolved, Whereas we have lived peaceably and quietly in these United States, of which we are natives, and have never been the cause of any insurrectionary or tumultuous movements as a body, that we do view every measure taken by any associated bodies to remove us to other climes, anti-christian and hostile to our peace, and a violation of the laws of humanity.

Resolved, That we view the American Colonization Society as the most inveterate foe both to the free and slave man of color.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF LYME, CT.

Resolved, That it is the sincere opinion of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is one of the wildest projects ever patronised by a body of enlightened men : and farther, that many of those who support it would be willing, if it were in their power to drive us out of existence.

Resolved, That though we be last in calling a meeting, we feel no less the pernicious influence of this Society than the rest of our brethren ; and that we will resist every attempt to banish us from this our native land.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF LEWISTOWN, PA.

Resolved, That we will not leave these United States, the land of our birth, for a home in Africa.

Resolved, That we will strenuously oppose the colonizing of the free people of color in Liberia.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NEW-BEDFORD.

Resolved, That in whatever light we view the Colonization Society, we discover nothing in it but terror, prejudice and oppression ; that the warm and beneficent hand of philanthropy is not apparent in the system, but the influence of the Society on public opinion is more prejudicial to the interest and welfare of the people of color in the United States, than slavery itself.

save the colored population from persecution and servitude,—is it not evident that nothing is wanting to render unnecessary this disgraceful expulsion, but that the supporters of the scheme should abandon their prejudices, clothe themselves with humility, and be christians and republicans indeed? It is undeniable that the popularity of the Society is immense; but if it be a benevolent institution, and exercise a wide and powerful moral influence, and is thus popular, how does it happen that no change, but for the worse, has taken place in the legal condition of the people of color, or in public sentiment? Has one prejudice been eradicated by its operations? Has it commended itself to the gratitude and confidence of the objects of its *benevolence*, as the Howard Benevolent Society has done to the recipients of its bounty? Are not all who are hostile to our free colored population, in favor of their banishment? Is not the design of the Society universally agreeable to the proud, the vulgar, the insolent, the scornful? Who, but its supporters, descant upon the prejudices which exist against the black? who, but themselves, acknowledge that they are swayed by those prejudices—powerfully and unalterably?

BY THE NATIONAL COLONIZATION CONVENTION HELD IN PHILADELPHIA, IN 1831.

‘The Convention has not been unmindful of the operations of the American Colonization Society; and it would respectfully suggest to that august body of learning, talent and worth, that, in our humble opinion, strengthened, too, by the opinions of eminent men in this country, as well as in Europe, that they are pursuing the direct road to perpetuate slavery, with all its unchristianlike concomitants, in this boasted land of freedom; and, as citizens and men whose best blood is sapped to gain popularity for that institution, we would, in the most feeling manner, beg of them to desist: or, if we must be sacrificed to their philanthropy, we would rather die at home. Many of our fathers, and some of us, have fought and bled for the liberty, independence and peace which you now enjoy; and, surely, it would be ungenerous and unfeeling in you to deny us a humble and quiet grave in that country which gave us birth.’

BY THE SAME CONVENTION, IN 1832.

Resolved, That we still solemnly and sincerely protest against any interference, on the part of the American Colonization Society, with the free colored population in these United States, so long as they shall countenance or endeavor to use coercive measures, (either directly or indirectly, to colonize us in any place which is not the object of our choice. And we ask them respectfully, as men and as Christians, to cease their unhalloved persecutions, of a people already sufficiently oppressed, or if, as they profess, they have our welfare and prosperity at heart, to assist us in the object of our choice.

We might here repeat our protest against that institution, but it is unnecessary. Our views and sentiments have long since gone to the world—the wings of the wind have borne our disapprobation to that institution. *Time itself cannot erase it.* We have dated our opposition from its beginning, and our views are strengthened by time and circumstances, and they hold the uppermost seat in our affections.

The American Colonization Society, *even allowing it to be a benevolent body*, HAS UNDERTAKEN TO ACCOMPLISH A PHYSICAL IMPOSSIBILITY—namely, the removal of the entire colored population of this country to Africa. It has been sixteen years in operation ; and with all its immense resources and its exceeding popularity, it has carried off, during that long period, *only the increase of a single fortnight !* More blacks are born *every day*, than it has removed *annually* since its organization ! The slave population has increased more than HALF A MILLION, and been reduced less than FIVE HUNDRED by the Society, since the year 1816 ! When the Alleghany mountains can be cast into the sea by separate particles ; or the sun extinguished by drops of water ; or the ocean dried up by a sun-beam ; or the ravages of the gaunt King of Terrors permanently arrested by the cure of a sick patient ;—then, and not till then, can the American Colonization Society succeed in carrying to Africa the colored population of the United States. It has been weighed in the balance, and found wanting ; and its fall is destined to be like that of Babylon the great.

In view of the events of the past year, the Managers congratulate the real friends of the colored race, both bond and free. One year since, the New-England Anti-Slavery Society commenced its operations, under very discouraging circumstances. Its members were few—its means, trifling. It has rapidly risen to a commanding rank, and is attracting general attention in this country. The fame of its principles neither the winds nor the waves of the Atlantic could drown—it has gone over to England, and given a strong impulse to the cause of abolition in that country. It has brought back the response from that distinguished philanthropist, James Cropper of Liverpool—‘ I did indeed feel it as a cordial to my heart to see a Society established within the United States, advocating the immediate and entire abolition of slavery.’

The pecuniary ability of the Society has been small.* A large amount of funds is not easily accumulated for any moral

* Among the donations which have been made to the Society, the Managers would gratefully acknowledge the following :—*Two hundred and Fifty dollars* (one hundred dollars of this sum to be appropriated to the Manual Labor

enterprise in its infancy. Yet, with feeble means, the Society has produced great results. It has constantly employed its presiding officer as an Agent, for the past six months, to go forth to the people, and urge its claims upon their charities and confidence. His labors, it is believed, have been extensively useful. The Managers bear honorable testimony to his zeal, faithfulness and ability. Other Agents have been successfully employed for a shorter period. Five thousand copies of the Constitution and Address of the Society have been printed for gratuitous distribution. A liberal purchase has been made of Mr. Garrison's 'Thoughts on African Colonization,' for a similar purpose. The Society has effected the emancipation of a young slave boy in this city, by a suit at law.* It is now making strenuous exertions for the establishment of a Manual Labor School, for the education of Colored Youth, and will probably attain its object. It has effected the conversion of a multitude of minds to the doctrine of immediate abolition, and given a wide and salutary check to the progress of the Colonization Society. It has done more to make slavery a subject of national investigation, to excite discussion, and to maintain the freedom of speech on a hitherto prohibited theme, than all other societies now in operation. It has been eminently serviceable in encouraging the free colored population, in various places, to go forward in paths of improvement, and organize themselves into moral and benevolent associations. It has commenced a monthly periodical, with the expressive title of 'THE ABOLITIONIST,' for the purpose of vindicating its principles, and promoting the various objects which it has in view. It is now laying the axe at the root of the tree of slavery in this country ; and though some may stand afar off and mock, and close their ears to the sound of its blows, and demand evidence of its efficiency, seeing the tree has not yet fallen ; yet in due time this Bohon Upas shall be prostrated, as it were in the twinkling of an eye, and consumed to ashes.

School Fund) from JOHN KENRICK, Esq. of Newton, Mass. ; *Fifty Dollars* (including fifteen dollars to constitute him a life member) from Mr. EBENEZER DOLE, of Hallowell, Me. ; *Fifty Dollars* from Mrs. SARAH H. WINSLOW, and *Fifteen Dollars* from Mrs. C. WINSLOW, both of Portland, Me.

* Appendix B.

An Auxiliary Society has been formed in the Theological Seminary at Andover. A society, based upon the same principles, has also been formed in Hudson College, Ohio, under the auspices of the President and Professors; and also a kindred association in Lynn, Massachusetts. Other societies, it is expected, will be speedily organized in Portland, Providence, Bath, Hallowell, New-Haven, and other places. The light which has burst forth so auspiciously in the West, is the harbinger of a mighty victory.

In closing their Report, the Managers would earnestly and feelingly conjure abolitionists in this country to maintain their ground, firmly and confidently. The controversy is not, in fact, between them and the oppressors of their fellow men, but between these oppressors and Jehovah. Their cause is based upon the immutable principles of justice and righteousness. It must prevail. Let full reliance be placed upon the promises of Him who has said that he will maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor; let every thing be done that may and should be done; let the heart be inspired but by one principle—love to God and love to man; let abolition societies be established in every town and village in the free states; and the speedy emancipation of the slaves is sure.

The blood of the millions who have perished unredressed in this guilty land; the sufferings and lamentations of the millions who yet remain in cruel servitude; the groans and supplications of bleeding Africa; the cries of the suffering victims in the holds of the slave-ships now wafted upon the ocean; the threatenings and judgments of the God of all flesh; all demand the utter and immediate annihilation of slavery.

And let all the people, from the Lakes to the Atlantic, and from Maine to the shores of the Pacific, in one mighty burst, thunder—‘AMEN, AND AMEN!’

APPENDIX.

(A.)

The Legislature of Louisiana has enacted that whosoever shall make use of language, in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the pulpit, the stage, or in any other place whatsoever shall make use of language, in any private discourses, or shall make use of signs or actions having a tendency to produce discontent among the colored population, shall suffer imprisonment at hard labor, not less than three years, nor more than twenty-one years, or DEATH, at the discretion of the court!! It has also prohibited the instruction of the blacks in Sabbath Schools—\$500 penalty for the first offence—DEATH for the second!! The Legislature of Virginia has passed a bill which subjects all free negroes who shall be convicted of remaining in the commonwealth contrary to law, to the liability of *being sold by the sheriff*. All meetings of free negroes, at any school-house or meeting-house, for teaching them reading or writing, are declared an unlawful assembly; and it is made the duty of any justice of the peace to issue his warrant to enter the house where such unlawful assemblage is held, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such free negroes. A fine is to be imposed on every white person who instructs at such meetings. All emancipated slaves, who shall remain more than twelve months, contrary to law, shall revert to the executors as assets. Laws have been passed in Georgia and North Carolina, imposing a heavy tax or imprisonment on every free person of color who shall come into their ports in the capacity of stewards, cooks, or seamen of any vessels belonging to the non-slaveholding States. The Legislature of Tennessee has passed an act forbidding free blacks from coming into the State to remain more than twenty days. The penalty is a fine of from ten to fifty dollars, and confinement in the penitentiary from one to two years. Double the highest penalty is to be inflicted after the first offence. The act also prohibits manumission, without an immediate removal from the State. The last Legislature of Maryland passed a bill, by which no free negro or mulatto is allowed to emigrate to, or settle in the State, under the penalty of fifty dollars for every week's residence therein; and if he refuse or neglect to pay such fine, he shall be committed to jail and sold by the sheriff at public sale; and no person shall employ or harbor him, under

the penalty of twenty dollars for every day he shall be so employed, hired or harbored ! It is not lawful for any free blacks to attend any meetings for religious purposes, unless conducted by a *white* licensed or ordained preacher, or some respectable white person duly authorised ! All free colored persons residing in the State, are compelled to register their names, ages, &c. &c. ; and if any negro or mulatto shall remove from the State, and remain without the limits thereof for a space longer than thirty consecutive days, unless before leaving the State he deposits with the clerk of the county in which he resides, *a written statement of his object in doing so*, and his intention of returning again, or unless he shall have been detained by sickness or coercion, *of which he shall bring a certificate*, he shall be regarded as a resident of another State, and be subject, if he return, to the penalties imposed by the foregoing provisions upon free negroes and mulattoes of another State, migrating to Maryland ! It is not lawful for any person or persons to purchase of any free negro or mulatto any articles, unless he produce a certificate from a justice of the peace, or three respectable persons residing in his neighborhood, that he or they have reason to believe, and do believe, that such free negro or mulatto came honestly and bona fide into possession of any such articles so offered for sale !

All the above named Legislatures, with one exception, have passed resolutions highly encomiastic of the American Colonization Society !! The Senate of Louisiana has adopted similar resolutions !

(B.)

SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT—DEC. 4, 1832.

Before SHAW, Chief Justice.

CASE OF FRANCISCO. A *habeas corpus* was brought against Mrs. Howard, a lady who had resided in the Island of Cuba, in order to have the body of Francisco, a colored boy 12 or 14 years of age, (whom it was alleged that the defendant intended to carry to the Island of Cuba, and there keep or sell as a slave,) brought before the Court.

The defendant, in her return to the *habeas corpus*, stated in writing, that the boy Francisco was her servant, that he was free, and that she did not claim him as a slave, and submitted herself to such order in the premises as the Court might see fit to make.

To contradict this return, several witnesses were produced, who proved that Mrs. Howard purchased Francisco as a slave, that she had held him as a slave at Havana, and had brought him with her from thence to this country, that she intended to carry him back to Havana, and that she had spoken of him since

she had been here, as her slave, her property, &c., and had exhibited great anxiety lest he should be taken away from her while in this country. The evidence was strong to show that Mrs. Howard intended, or had intended until this *habeas corpus* was brought, to claim him as her slave in Havana, on her return there.

On behalf of Mrs. Howard, evidence was produced to prove that the boy was very much attached to her, and she to him ; that she had treated him with great kindness, and had no design to sell him ; and that before leaving the Havana, she was admonished that he would become free on being brought into this country, and that the boy preferred going with her to remaining here.

Curtis, on behalf of Mrs. Howard, contended, that the court ought not to deprive her of the care of a boy, whom she had treated kindly, and who was attached to her, and desirous of going with her ; that the boy was free, and would still continue to be free, on going to Havana ; that his actual condition would probably be better, if he went with her, than if he was kept in this country ; and her counsel further stated that she was perfectly willing to have the question, whether or not the boy should go with her, left to his own decision. In support of this course, he cited a case decided by Chancellor Kent, and another by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, in the matter of a writ of *habeas corpus*, directed to the society of Shakers, to relieve a young person detained by them. The counsel also denied the authority of the court to interfere in a case where the respondent exercised no restraint over the person of the minor, and the minor himself made no complaints of restraint or detainment, but remained with the respondent of his own free will.

Sewall, on the other side, urged that Francisco, on being brought into Massachusetts, became free ; that it was evidently Mrs. Howard's intention to make him a slave again, when she arrived at Havana ; that he was entitled to the same protection of the court as any other free person in Massachusetts ; and that the court ought to interfere to preserve him from slavery. His affection for Mrs. Howard, and his desire of going with her, were no sufficient reasons for sending him to a place where he would inevitably be deprived of his freedom. And the counsel requested, that as Francisco was too young to determine what was for his interest, the court would appoint a guardian to act for him in the case.

SHAW, C. J., after examining Francisco privately, and ascertaining that it was his desire to go with Mrs. Howard, delivered an opinion, of which the following is a very imperfect sketch.

The question before the court is one of great importance. The writ of *habeas corpus* is intended for the protection of per-

sonal liberty. If Mrs. Howard, in her return to the writ, had claimed the boy as a slave, I should have ordered him to be discharged from her custody. But it appears from her return to the writ, that she does not claim him as a slave. The boy, by the law of Massachusetts, is in fact free; and Mrs. Howard having, by her return to the writ, disclaimed to hold him as a slave, has made a record of his freedom, and cannot make him a slave again in the Island of Cuba.

The evidence shows that up to a very recent period, she intended to claim him as a slave on carrying him back to Havana. But after the disclaimer which she has made in her return, ought the Court to interfere to prevent the boy from going to Cuba with her, merely because he will be in more danger of being made a slave there, than if he was retained in this State? I think not. I know of no precedent of a guardian *ad litem* being appointed in a case of this kind. The Court must act as the boy's guardian. He appears to be attached to Mrs. Howard, and to be desirous of going with her, and I think it is for his interest to be allowed to do so, if he pleases. He can therefore go with her or not as he chooses. And all persons will be prohibited from interfering or attempting by force to prevent him from going with her, if such continues his wish.—*Boston Atlas*.

REPORT ON THE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE.

The Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the *Foreign and Domestic Slave Trade*, most respectfully submit the following report :

Notwithstanding the prohibition of the African slave trade by the laws and treaties of all nations, it appears, by the reports of British cruisers who have within the last year captured a number of vessels freighted with African slaves, that the trade is still prosecuted with unabated rigor; and thousands are annually stolen away from their homes in Africa, and transported across the ocean, to supply those Christian markets where men, women and children are bought and sold like brute beasts; fully demonstrating that so long as there is a market for human beings, laws, treaties and navies, aided by the power of moral and christian influence, are insufficient to restrain the avarice of wicked men from tearing from their peaceful homes those hapless victims of their cupidity, and consigning them to a life of bereavement, mourning and woe.

It can hardly be supposed that the statistics of an illicit trade can be very accurately ascertained; but it is universally admit-

ted that the demand for slaves, in the yet unglutted marts of christian states and colonies, has caused the trade to be prosecuted with as much severity and rigor since its legal prohibition as before. And it is contrary to all experience to suppose that it can ever be abolished, but by abolishing the market.

Appalling as is the contemplation of the wickedness, cruelty and sufferings attendant on the *African* slave trade, we turn with deeper horror to the countless woes and more aggravated crimes of the *American* slave trade. Here, where 'the trade in slaves and souls of men' is legalized, and counted honorable, we have more correct data for statistical calculation.

One sixth part of the people of the United States of America are held as property, and regarded as articles of commerce !

One hundred thousand children, annually born in the United States, are raised like cattle, to be sold and transferred from one owner to another, without any regard to their will or welfare !

When a slaveholder dies, his men, women and children are appraised and sold, and there is witnessed one of those heart-rending scenes of human agony, which may be better conceived than described in words. The miserable victims of this inhuman system are brought to the stand, one by one, and each separately knocked off to the highest bidder. Husbands are separated from their wives, parents from children, friend from friend, and lover from lover, and every endearing tie of nature and affection is most unfeelingly sundered, causing the heavens to resound with their cries and their groans. And it is not only at the death of a slaveholder that these scenes of anguish and despair are witnessed ; for 'the trade in slaves and souls of men' is one of the most extensive branches of commerce in our country, and probably amounts to *twenty millions* of dollars in a year. Men sell their own children, and their brothers and sisters ; and every day in which the light of heaven shines upon our guilty land, does it witness the image of God exposed at public sale, and that, too, by men who would be offended were we to call them cannibals. Even in the District of Columbia, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the general government of the Republic, men and women, whose only crime is that they are descended from African parents, are sold to inland pirates, who purchase them for the western market.

In the contemplation of these things, we are compelled to exclaim,—Oh, America ! how long shall it prove a misfortune and a curse to a portion of thy children, that their ancestors were not permitted to remain in a land of heathens ? How long, in this Christian land, shall these unfortunate people be regarded as merchandise, and be denied that instruction which is essential for rational, intelligent and immortal souls ?

May the Christian churches in our land speedily clear their skirts of the stain of blood ! May they make haste to put away from them this abomination, which has so long obstructed their progress, and obscured their glory ; that the glad voices of ransomed millions may unite with those who love the Lord, in ascribing unto Him, who, with a mighty hand and outstretched arm, delivered Israel from the house of bondage, the praise of having, in like manner, delivered his children from oppression in this guilty land !

In behalf of the Committee, ARNOLD BUFFUM.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, we believe that Slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished ; and whereas, we believe that the citizens of New-England not only have the right to protest against it, but are under the highest obligation to seek its removal by a moral influence ; and whereas, we believe that the free people of color are unrighteously oppressed, and stand in need of our sympathy and benevolent co-operation ; therefore, recognizing the inspired declaration that God ‘ hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,’ and in obedience to our Saviour’s golden rule, ‘ all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States ; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or two dollars annually shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Sec-

retary, a Treasurer, and ten Counsellors, who shall be elected annually, by ballot, on the fourth Wednesday of January, or subsequently by adjournment, and shall hold their respective offices until others are chosen.

ART. 5. The foregoing officers shall constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be entrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to make their own by-laws, to fill any vacancy which may occur in their Board and to employ agents to promote the objects of the Society.

ART. 6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society annually, on the third Wednesday of January, at which the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings for the past year, and of the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence a President pro tem.

ART. 8. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall correspond with the agents, or any other bodies or individuals, according to the directions of the Society or the Managers.

ART. 9. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and keep the records of the same.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and donations to the Society, hold all its funds, and make payments according to the directions of the Managers: and he shall keep a true account of the same, and render a statement to accompany the Annual Report of the Society.

ART. 11. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by letter or delegation.

ART. 12. The Society shall hold meetings on the last Monday of March, June, and September, for the transaction of any business which may be presented by the Board of Managers, or for addresses, or for discussion of any subject connected with the objects of the Society. Special meetings may be called by the Board of Managers, or by the Recording Secretary on application from ten members of the Society.

ART. 13. This Constitution may be altered at the Annual Meeting for the choice of officers, provided the amendments proposed to be made, have been submitted to the Board of Managers, in writing, one month previous.

LETTER TO THOMAS CLARKSON.

LIVERPOOL, 10th Month, 2d, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND :—

It has caused me deep regret to see thy name amongst those of many well-tried friends of humanity as supporters of the American Colonization Society ; though I am not surprised that many under the mask of a voluntary and prosperous settlement of free blacks on the coast of Africa—a measure in which every friend of humanity must rejoice—have been led to support a scheme, the nature and effects of which are of a very different character.

In judging of this scheme, we ought never to lose sight of two facts with respect to the enslaved Africans in the United States, in which the enormities of that free country have exceeded those of any other. The first is, that slaves are regularly bred for sale. The second, that, in many of the States, the laws affecting free blacks are of so violently persecuting a character as to compel those who obtain their liberty to leave those States. From the former of these causes, instances must often occur, (from the state of morals in slave countries,) of fathers selling their own children !! From the latter has originated the Colonization Society ; it arose out of those prejudices against color, and is a direct attempt to extend the same principle to transportation.

Why are slaveholders so anxious to send away free people of color ? Because their slave institutions would be endangered by the competition of respectable free black laborers ; and they dread still more their education and advancement in science. If they were desirous of serving the free blacks, they would instruct them at home, (not a *few* of them, but every one that they send,) and not send them in ignorance to a barbarous country.

To this real scheme of transporting the people of color a professed one is attached, for the ultimate extinction of slavery, by the transportation of the whole black population to the coast of Africa ; and we are gravely told that one hundred thousand slaves are ready to be given up, if means can be found of sending them to Africa ! A most extraordinary statement, and one for which I believe there is no foundation, in either fact or probability. Can it be believed that the slaveholders of the United States are ready to give up their property, worth at least *five millions sterling* ?—a liberality unheard of since the foundation of the world. In all the rest of the United States, enough to

pay the expense of their emigration cannot be raised, and hence it is sought for in England. If there was any truth in this wonderful statement, we must all of us have been sadly deceived about the debasing effects of slaveholding on the minds of those engaged in it. No other occupation ever produced such extraordinary liberality.

It would be interesting to know to what class these men belong. Is it the practice of selling their own children which has produced this extraordinary effect? Or are these men amongst the slave buyers, who purchase them for no other purpose than to give them their freedom so soon as the means of sending them to Liberia can be found? Is it not strange indeed, that any man can be bold enough to make assertions so obviously at variance with truth? To whatsoever extent this transportation of slaves was carried, the slaveholders know that the price of those slaves which remained would be enhanced, and their condition embittered, by the removal of all hopes of liberty, so precious to the human soul. The free colored people being kept few and poor, will be prevented from rising, by fair competition, to the equal rank and honor to which that competition naturally conducts, when not marred in its progress by some such scheme as the American Colonization Society. No wonder that, with the exception of some who do not understand the plan, the planters are friendly to the colonization scheme. But the free people of color are opposed to this scheme. They have committed no crime, and do not like to be transported and suffer the highest penalty of the law next to death.

To whatever extent the United States expatriate their cotton cultivators, they destroy one of the chief sinews of their own prosperity, and increase the temptation to other States to renew the slave trade by fresh importations. The whole revenue of the United States, for thirty years to come, would be required to purchase the slaves, and to transport them and the free blacks to Africa. Such an idea as the extinction of slavery by means of the Colonization Society can never have been seriously contemplated. No! *perpetuation*, and not *extinction of slavery*, is its object!

The first command ever given to man was—‘Be fruitful and multiply.’ Who can doubt that it is for his interest to obey this and every other command of God? But in no case is it so manifest as when in a state of slavery. The value of men, as of every other commodity, is governed by their plenty or scarcity; where they are so abundant that parishes are willing to pay the expenses of emigration to get rid of them, there must be an end of slavery. Every increase of numbers tends, whilst it is a proof of better treatment, to promote the mitigation and final

extinction of slavery ; and it must be admitted that the Americans evince this proof of better treatment.

The slaves in the United States have rapidly increased, and this increase has been highly beneficial to the cause of humanity. It is estimated that they have increased since 1808, (the time of both our and their abolition of the slave trade,) from 1,130,000 to 2,010,000, and they have more than trebled the growth of cotton since the peace of 1814, and have reduced its price to one third of what it then was, though the Brazils, with all their slave trading, have only added one fourth part to their growth of cotton in the same time. Hence it is plain, that if there has been any increase in the cotton cultivators of Brazils, few or no slaves can have been imported for its cultivation. May we not then say that the increase of the slave population of the United States has done more than all our enormous expenditure for the suppression of the African slave trade ?

It cannot but be interesting to thee to know what would have been the effect of a similar increase in the English West Indian slaves. Had they increased in the same proportion as those of the United States (since the abolition of the slave trade) their numbers would have been 728,317 more than they now are, which, if employed in the cultivation of sugar, would have been sufficient to have produced an increase of 240,000 tons annually, whilst all the slave trading of the Brazils and Cuba and the French colonies have only added 115,000 tons to their growth. Such an increase of sugar would have greatly reduced its price, and consequently the price of slaves, and thereby have destroyed the slave trade for the growth of sugar, as it has long since extinguished that for the cultivation of indigo, and more recently for the growth of cotton.

The disguise is now removing, and the real tendency of the Society is becoming apparent. A bill was reported to House of Delegates of Virginia, for sending the free blacks away by force ; but though this compulsory clause was rejected, it is added that several other motions were made, and decided by majorities which amply proved the determination of the House, to adopt some measure for the removal of the free blacks. These legislators admit that the free blacks will not leave the land without some sort of force ; which may either be absolute, or by rendering their situation absolutely intolerable.

Great injury has been done to the cause of negro emancipation by the encouragement which the agent of this most *diabolical* scheme has received from the sanction of thy name. The term diabolical is not too severe ; for never did Satan, with more success, transform himself into an angel of light, than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.

These persecuted free blacks view the whole plan with the abhorrence which is justly due it, and with which we should view a plan of general transportation from the land of our nativity. The slave-owners are its advocates and supporters. Surely the name of Clarkson will be withdrawn from the ranks of the oppressors, and will be found, as it has ever yet been, amongst the friends of the oppressed African race.

Let us repair the injury which has been done on both sides of the water by this unholy connection between slaveholders and philanthropists; for since this scheme has been on foot, its deadening influence on the energies of the friends of humanity in the United States has been most manifest.

Let there no longer be any doubt which side is taken by the philanthropists of England. Let them declare their deep feeling of sympathy with these sorely persecuted and oppressed people; and such an example will be followed in the U. States, where the friends of humanity will hasten to leave the ranks of the oppressors, and the cause of justice will again flourish.

May I particularly request thy attentive perusal of the following twenty pages, written by my friend Charles Stuart, one of the most devoted Christians I have ever known, and an unwearied advocate of the oppressed Africans.

I am, with great regard,
Thy sincere friend,

JAMES CROPPER.

E X T R A C T S .

I.

‘Tell those who would paralyze your exertions in this righteous cause, by anticipations of danger, or considerations of national policy—that, whatever is *moral duty*, can never, ultimately, be a *political evil*—that to do *evil* that *good* may come—or to avoid good, *lest evil* should come, is as crooked a doctrine in Politics as it is in Divinity ; and if a Heathen could exclaim, ‘*Fiat Justitia ruat Cælum*,’ well may the Christian adopt similar language, with his clearer views, and stronger confidence in the superintendence and protection of a Power as Omnipotent as Just !’—*Abolitionist’s Catechism*.

II.

‘Come forward, we beseech you, as men—and as christians ; temperately, but fearlessly—constitutionally, but **DECIDEDLY**—in the support of every legitimate measure for the utter abolition of a System which no prospect of private gain—no consideration of public advantage—no plea of political expediency—can sufficiently justify or excuse :—thus will you extend the blessings of liberty to Hundreds of Thousands of your fellow-creatures—hold up to an enlightened world a glorious and merciful example—and stand among the foremost in the defence of the violated rights of Human Nature.’—*Anti-Slavery Tract*.

III.

‘It is quite evident that our slave system will be abolished, and that its supporters will hereafter be regarded with the same public feelings, as he who was an advocate of the slave trade is now. How is it that legislators, or that public men, are so indifferent to their fame ? Who would now be willing that biography should record of him—**THIS MAN DEFENDED THE SLAVE TRADE ?** The time will come when the record, **THIS MAN OPPOSED THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY**—will occasion a great deduction from the public estimate of worth of character. When both these atrocities are abolished, and but for the page of history forgotten, that page will make a wide difference be-

tween those who aided the abolition, and those who obstructed it. The one will be ranked amongst the Howards that are departed, and the other amongst those who, in ignorance or in guilt, have employed their little day in inflicting misery upon mankind.'—*Dymond's Essays*.

IV.

'I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what caste, creed, or color, slavery may assume—I am for its total, its instant abolition. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its immediate abolition. I enter into no compromise with slavery ; I am for justice, in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God.'—*O'Connell*.

